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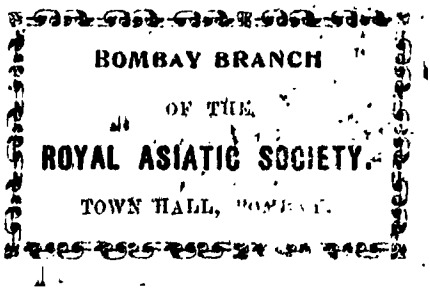

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AN

ENQUIRY

INTO

THE EXTENT AND STABILITY

OF

NATIONAL RESOURCES.

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BY THE

REV. THOMAS CHALMERS,

KILMANY.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY JOHN MOIR,

FOR OLIPHANT AND BROWN, EDINBURGH, AND LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, LONDON.

1808.

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It was the peculiar aspect of the times which suggested to the author of this performance the first conception of its leading principle. He has prosecuted the subject to a much greater extent than he originally intended; and, independently of any temporary importance which it may derive from the present circumstances of the country, he now offers it to the public, as a speculation which embraces some of the most interesting questions in political science.

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CHAP. I.

THE CASE OF A COUNTRY THAT CARRIES ON NO FOREIGN TRADE.

When a country is secluded from all foreign intercourse, its population must be regulated by the quantity of food which it produces for the subsistence of man. This is a limit which it can never exceed. The slightest tendency to a redundant population, is immediately repressed by diseases which are the effect of spare living, or the vices attendant on extreme poverty. Too many people for the food, is the same with too little food for the people. It brings famine upon the country. It may not subject a single family to a total want of the necessaries of life, or force a single individual to die in the agonies of extreme hunger; but a scanty allowance of nourishment brings after it a long train of diseases, and, under the disguise of sickness and infirmity, it silently thins the population of a country, and

brings it down to a level with the means of subsistence.

On the other hand, the population of a country is never far short of the subsistence produced in it. When the means of subsistence are suddenly enlarged, a general plenty and cheapness of provisions ensue; the increased facility of maintaining a family operates as an encouragement to marriage; it puts a greater number into the condition of marrying, and in the course of a few years, a population is brought forward to meet the growing produce and cultivation of the country. It is in this way that the population of a country is always sure to keep pace with the means of subsistence. It often presses hard on the limit which restrains it; but when it at last touches this limit, it touches an insuperable barrier, beyond which it cannot extend.

The first call of man is for food to sustain him. Hunger is the most clamorous of all his appetites, and, to appease it, must be the first employment of his powers. The care of providing for his subsistence, engrosses his attention in the first instance; and till this object be accomplished, every other pursuit must be suspended, and every other desire of his nature must remain ungratified. To what degree then will he be able to provide for himself the other accommodations of human life? This depends on the time and labour he finds it necessary to expend on the work of

procuring subsistence. The more time he spends in the business of collecting food, the less time will remain to him for the business of providing any of the other comforts and conveniences of life. In a savage state of society, almost every hour of the day is employed in collecting food; little or no time is left for enabling him to procure any other accommodations; and with every effort he can spare from the great work of providing for the calls of hunger, he can do little more than prepare a scanty covering for his body, and dig a hole in the earth to protect him from the inclemency of the seasons.

But, in the progress of society, the labour of providing mere subsistence, has been much diminished. More surplus time is left for working up the other accommodations of human life, and these accommodations are accordingly provided to a much greater extent. In any civilized country, if each individual were to give half the day to the labours of agriculture, it would be more than enough to provide a quantity of food sufficient for all its inhabitants. The other half of the day, then, is still in reserve to be occupied by each man in the office of providing additional comforts, and of labouring for the gratification of the other desires and appetites of his nature.

In the course of time, however, it was found better to make a division of employment. In-

stead of each man working for himself, the labour of providing food for the whole has been made to devolve on one part of the community, and this part constitutes what we call the *Agricultural Population*. The other part is employed in providing the other accommodations of human life. It is evident, that if the labour of half the day from each individual, was more than sufficient to provide food for himself, the labour of less than half the population of the country will be sufficient to provide food for all its inhabitants. I do not venture to assign the proportion which the agricultural population may bear to the whole population of a country. It varies in different countries, and in different states of society. But such is the generosity of nature, that in most countries, the labour of one family is rewarded by the subsistence of several more; and a labour too that admits of indefinite diminution, from the gradual amelioration of the soil, the improvements in the art of farm-management, and the application of machinery, which abridges the work of man, and renders the implements of husbandry more effective.

But a labourer must have something more than food for himself and his family. After the gratification of his hunger, the most urgent necessities of man, are raiment to clothe, and a house to shelter him. If his wages are unable to purchase these additional enjoyments, then he cannot mar-

ry; he will reserve that part of his wages which would have gone to purchase food, and of a family, and employ it in the purchase of clothes, and lodging for himself. There are other enjoyments, too, which he may conceive to be indispensible to his existence, and will not enter into any step which may have the effect of forcing him to renounce them. He must have fuel to protect him from the inclemency of winter; and if he has any little taste for splendour and luxury, a certain degree of these enjoyments must be allowed him before he can think of embarking in the expence of a family. Thus, among the peasantry of every country, there is a general standard of enjoyment; and, of course, a general standard of wages to purchase that enjoyment. If the wages of labour are at any time below this general standard, then marriage is discouraged, and the population of a country declines. The number of labourers diminishes, and a competition ensues among their employers, which will infallibly raise the rate of wages to the general standard. If wages are above this general standard, then marriage is encouraged, a greater number marry than before, or, what is the same, in point of effect, marriages take place earlier; the population is increased, the price of labour diminishes as the number of labourers is increased, and will at last sink to that level at which it remains stationary.

Whatever enters, after food, into the general standard of enjoyment among the peasantry, I rank among the second necessaries of life. Now, part of the population of a country must be employed in providing these second necessaries, in manufacturing such raiment, in building such houses, and in providing such other accommodations, as are in general request among labourers. This part of the population constitutes what I call the second division of the population of a country. It is altogether distinct from the agricultural population. The one labours for the food of the country; the other for all those secondary accommodations which are annexed to the general stile of living, and condition of the peasantry.

If the office of providing food, and the office of providing the second necessaries of existence, were sufficient to engross the time and labour of the whole population of a country, the art and industry of man could supply no further accommodations. In other words, if the food of a country was barely sufficient for the subsistence of those who laboured in producing it, and for the subsistence of those who laboured in preparing the second necessaries of existence, there would be no remaining population to work up any of those additional conveniences, which are above the general stile and condition of a labourer. But the fact is otherwise in every civilized country. After the subsistence of all the necessary population, an immense quantity of

surplus food is still unconsumed, and an immense population, supported by that food, is still unoccupied; and the productions of their industry are still in reserve to widen the sphere of enjoyment, to add to the sweets of human life, and the comforts of human society. This remaining population constitutes the third division of the population of the country; and to it I give the name of the *Disposable Population.*

Of the disposable population, the distribution is various, and affected by a variety of circumstances. It includes all who are not employed in the labours of agriculture, or of providing the second necessaries of existence. In addition to the indolent proprietor, who consumes but a small proportion of his own produce, it takes in the rulers and legislators of the country, the officers of justice, the practitioners of law and physic, the members of literary and ecclesiastical establishments, soldiers, artists, manufacturers, and tradesmen, who all contribute in their respective departments, to the comfort, security, and elegance of human life.

The surplus food of the country is, in the first instance, at the disposal of its proprietor. But though it lies at his mercy, he has it only in his power to use a small part of it. His power of consumption is limited by his own appetites for food. An immense quantity of subsistence remains, which he would never think of suffer-

ing to perish, or of consigning wantonly to the flames. He parts with it to others, he assigns it in different proportions to the members of the disposable population, who, in return, contribute in various ways to his comforts and enjoyments.

To gratify the insatiable temper of man, the whole of the disposable population will find full scope and employment for their industry. The proprietor of the surplus food, does not rest satisfied with the supply of his physical wants. He must array himself in splendour and elegance; he must extend the size and accommodations of his buildings; he must affect the parade of ornamental furniture; he must have a train of dependants, to give eclat and dignity to his establishment; he must have rulers to preserve the peace and order of the community; he must have soldiers to defend him from the violence of invaders; he must have musicians to delight his ear with the enchantments of sound; he must have poets to regale his fancy with the representations of nature; he must have philosophers to satiate a restless and aspiring curiosity; he must have priests to instruct him in the sacred mysteries of religion.

The quantity of food which remains after the subsistence of the necessary population, determines the extent of the disposable population. Reduce the quantity of this redundant food, and you in the same proportion reduce the numbers

which compose the disposable population. Increase the quantity of this redundant food, and in the course of a few years, an additional population is brought forward to meet the augmented means of subsistence in the country. The addition that is thus made to the disposable population, will contribute an additional share to the comforts and accommodations of human life. They will add to the general mass of enjoyment, and open a wider range to the immeasurable desires and appetites of our nature.

When the means of subsistence are extended, an additional population is brought forward. But this additional population will not be idle; they will earn their subsistence by their labour; they will give their industry as a return for their maintenance; and the productions of that industry will be so many additional materials of luxury and convenience.

To give a familiar illustration of my argument, we shall suppose that a landed proprietor, in consequence of some improvement, doubles the surplus produce of his estate. He becomes twice as wealthy a man as he was before. The general effect of this increased wealth is to make him extend his establishment, to build, perhaps, a more commodious house, to adorn it with more splendid and expensive furniture, to enlist into his service a more numerous train of attendants; and, in short, to adopt a stile which calls for a

greater contribution from the industry of the disposable population, a greater number of artists, manufacturers, and tradesmen, than he before employed. This additional demand upon the industry of the disposable population, they are enabled to answer. They can now extend their number, so as to meet the increased produce which the improved estate of their employer adds to the general mass of subsistence in the country.

We conceive that we give the third division of the population of a country an appropriate name, when we call it the disposable population. The second division is employed in administering to the physical wants of our constitution; their services cannot be commuted: no advantage can tempt us to dispense with them. The employment of building houses, and manufacturing raiment, is to be met with in all civilized countries. It is constant and universal as the nature of man, and no revolution of taste or opinion can lead to the abolition of it. But the disposable population is chiefly employed in administering to the factitious wants of the human race. Its employments, therefore, may be modified at pleasure; its industry can take every new direction that may be impressed upon it by the taste of the country; it may be made to accommodate to every new necessity which the circumstances of the times impose upon us; and to every new

caprice which the influence of fashion may diffuse through the wealthier orders of the community.

The employment of the disposable population, is, in fact, found to vary according to the character and circumstances of different countries. Amidst the general insecurity which prevailed among the states of antiquity, the great demand of the people, and of the country, was defence against the invasion of their enemies. The second division of the population was employed in procuring those secondary accommodations which they could not dispense with, in the manufacture of clothing, and the building of houses. They contented themselves with these simple enjoyments, and employed almost the whole of their disposable population in the capacity of soldiers. In the middle ages, a taste for the more refined accommodations of luxury was unknown; very few of the disposable population were employed in the processes of manufacturing industry; and a great part of the remainder was subsisted by their superior, for the purpose of fighting his battles, or adding to the splendour of his retinue. In these same ages, superstition had a strong hold of the minds of the people; ecclesiastical institutions were multiplied to an enormous extent, and a great part of the disposable population was composed of the members of religious establishments. In modern times, when

in addition to the urgent necessities of our nature, there is a general demand for luxury, magnificence, and parade; a greater number of the disposable population is employed in the capacity of artists and manufacturers, who administer, by their industry, to the factitious wants of their employers. It is in this way that employment is distributed among the disposable population, in accommodation to the existing circumstances of the country, the emergency of the times, or the prevailing spirit and disposition of the people.

The members of the disposable population do not labour for the necessaries of life;—they labour for those higher accommodations of luxury, which are not essential to existence, and which it is, therefore, in the physical power of man to dispense with.

They can, therefore, be recalled from any one employment to any other employment; they can be made to take any direction which the country may choose to impress upon them. This change of employment does not affect their maintenance, it only affects the direction of their industry; the agricultural population will provide them with the same quantity of food as before; the second division of the population will provide them with the same quantity of the other necessaries of existence; they will have the same degree of comfort and subsistence; and the whole amount of

the mischief will be that temporary inconvenience which attends a change of employment.

It were idle to expend illustration on a point so evident, if it was not opposed by some deep laid prejudices, which exist in the country. Suppose so many of the disposable population to be employed in the manufacture of a particular luxury, which they prepare for the accommodation of their customers; if, in consequence of some revolution in taste, these customers should choose to abandon the use of that luxury, the manufacture is annihilated, and all its labourers are thrown out of their present employment. But though they are thrown out of their employment, they are not necessarily thrown out of their maintenance. The ability to maintain them still exists in the hands of their customers, and this ability is only withdrawn for a moment from one article of expenditure, to be discharged on another. Some new employment presents itself to the discarded labourers, and, after the inconvenience of a few months, they find the same maintenance as before, for a new species of industry. In the whole of this process, I see nothing either extraordinary or alarming. It is neither more nor less than the case of a master exercising his undoubted right of controul over the servants whom he maintains. He transfers them from their former employments, and gives them the same maintenance as before, in some new ser-

vice that is more agreeable to him. But to the fancy of many a politician, the destruction of a particular manufacture carries in it something far more melancholy and disastrous. He never thinks of the facility with which the disposable population can be transferred from one species of industry to another, and that the means still exist in the country to give them the same maintenance as before in another employment. He only looks to the immediate object; he sees a manufacture destroyed, and he conceives that so much of the wealth and prosperity of the country is destroyed along with it.

A few years ago, the wearing of shoe buckles was universally given up. The annihilation of this branch of manufacture was the immediate consequence; all engaged in it were thrown out of employment. They could no longer obtain from the country that maintenance which it afforded them, as a return for the productions of their industry, and the public ear was assailed with the clamours of their poverty and distress. Many supposed, that the public interest was affected, and that the loss of wealth, of which these buckle-makers complained, indicated the disappearance of so much wealth from the country. But this is a mistake. The wealth, though lost for a time to them, is not lost to the country; it remains in the hands of their employers. The reward of their industry came to them in the

form of food to subsist them, and manufactured commodities to procure them so many of the additional enjoyments of human life. But if the country chooses to dispense with their services, this food, and these commodities, remain with their original possessors, to be distributed by them in supporting some new species of industry; in giving some new direction to the employment of the disposable population.

So long as the means of subsistence remain the same, the extent of the disposable population cannot be affected by the destruction of particular branches of manufacture. This population will always keep up with the agricultural produce; and in the different revolutions of employment, we only see the energies of the disposable population directed according to the ever varying taste and circumstances of the times.

In the annihilation of particular branches of manufacture, we allow that the individuals employed in it are subjected to inconvenience and distress. Yet in a country where there is subsistence to maintain the same extent of disposable population as before, it is soon got over. The capital vested in these manufactures is transferred to others, and the workmen betake themselves to some new employment, which is opened up for them. The fact is, that the destruction of any one branch of manufactures is necessarily attended with the creation or the ex-

tension of some other. The food formerly employed in subsisting the discarded workmen is still produced; it cannot lie idle. It is distributed by its proprietor among the members of the disposable population, who, in return, do him some additional service, give him some new production of their industry.

It is unwise, therefore, in a legislator, to take any interest in the preservation of a manufacture that is not supported by the demand of the country. It is only useful so long as its productions contribute to our necessities and enjoyments. But that can never be said to constitute our enjoyment which we refuse, and which we turn away from, in pursuit of something else more agreeable to our fancy, or to our appetites. If government were to assume to itself the power of controuling the expenditure of its subjects, it might force them to purchase the commodities of a particular manufacture. But it may, with as great wisdom, force the country to support indolence. It is forcing it to throw away its subsistence on so many of the disposable population, who give no return in the services which they perform. True, they are not idle; they prepare something; they have, perhaps, shoe-buckles to show as the evidence of their being very deserving, and very industrious. But what are shoe-buckles to me, or to any of my countrymen, if we don't wear them, if we would rather

be without them, if when forced upon us by the narrow constraining policy of government, we throw them aside as a burden and an incumbrance? Where does the value of such a manufacture lie? Is it in the wealth which a numerous class of his Majesty's subjects derives from the profits of their employment? These profits form part of the price which is paid to them by their customers. It is enriching one part of the community at the expence of another. Is it the tax which they contribute to the revenue of the country? This tax also forms part of the price. It can be traced to the wealth of the customer, and might have been raised by a direct assessment upon him. It is in vain to talk of the advantages of industry, and the great importance of keeping up the manufacturing interest of the country. In an economical point of view, the sole advantage of industry lies in the usefulness of its productions. True, there is a pleasure in exercise and occupation, independently of their effects, both in giving health to the body and cheerfulness to the temper. But to give subsistence to a body of men for producing a commodity which you have no use for, is as ridiculous as to pension them on the special provision, that they walk so many miles a-day, or carry up a stone of a given weight to roll from the top of a mountain.

The wealth and ability of a class of manufacturers, resolve themselves into the wealth and abi-

lity of their employers. If the manufacture is destroyed, the food and commodities which they were formerly accustomed to receive, remain in the hands of their original possessor. The disposable population will not be diminished. The discarded workmen will not be swept away from the face of the country. They will be employed in another capacity. The same food and commodities which they formerly received will still be continued to them, but for a different kind of service. They will be as well supported as before, but it will be in return for some new species of industry, more suited to the taste and disposition of their employers. If some of them, deterred by the difficulty of changing their habits, should leave the country, and carry their employment along with them, this produces a deficiency in the population. Hence a redundancy in the food, which, in the course of a few years, is met by a new population, who are distributed into various employments, according to the demand and circumstances of the country.

Government should take no interest in the preservation of a manufacture which is deserted by the free and voluntary support of the people. Every man is the best judge of his own wishes and enjoyments. Leave him to himself, and he will consult his happiness and interest, to much better purpose than the interference of any policy can ever provide for them. Leave manufactures to their fate: In their prosperity and in their

fall, they only indicate the variations that must always take place in the general demand of the country, or in the aggregate wishes of its people.

The loss sustained by the destruction of a particular manufacture, is as groundless as the fabrication of a superstitious fancy, which bewilders the understanding, and scatters terror and dismay through the hearts of the people. What is that mysterious and independent virtue which is attached to the prosperity of a particular manufacture? Any virtue that it has, it derives from the country. It may flourish, or it may fall; the country remains: Its agricultural produce is brought forward in as great abundance as before; the same extent of disposable population is supported, and the same impulse and activity given to their efforts, though in another direction.

In arranging the offices of a household, and settling the distribution of its servants, upon what principle should the arrangement be conducted, whether upon the will of the master, or the pleasure and convenience of the servants? Is it not for the master alone, to say how many servants shall attend him in the capacity of footmen; how many shall be allotted to the work of the kitchen; how many to the stables, and how many to the care of his garden and pleasure grounds? If he chooses to dismiss so many of his footmen, and add an equal number to his establishment of servants in the kitchen; upon what principle should

this change be resisted? Would it not be ridiculous, to say that the footmen must first be consulted? They dislike the work of the kitchen, and cannot think of submitting to this new distribution of employment. If this be the case, all they have to do is to leave the family. The master, with the ability in his hand to give wages and maintenance to an equal number, will soon get other servants to supply their place, and to acquiesce in those new arrangements that are most agreeable to his taste and convenience.

The parallel exactly holds with the country, considered as one great household, where the proprietors of the necessaries of life stand in the place of master, and the disposable population in the place of servants. Upon what principle should the distribution of the disposable population be regulated? Is it not upon the will of the employers; those who furnish them with maintenance, as the reward and encouragement of their industry? Is it not for these employers to say in what manner employment shall be distributed among the disposable population of the country? and is it not their undoubted right to recal them from any one manufacture, and transfer them to any other that may be more accommodated to the taste and circumstances of the times? If any of the disposable population do not choose to acquiesce in this new arrangement, let them leave the country; they cannot carry their maintenance

along with them. This remains in the hands of their original possessors, and a new population will soon come forward, to be supported by the redundant maintenance in the new employments to which masters may choose to direct them.

Now, almost all our legislators, and many of our speculative economists, have reversed this principle. What they chiefly consult, is the pleasure of the servants; and the taste or enjoyment of the master never once enters into their consideration. It is this which lies at the bottom of many of the delusions in political science. "The "great end," says Dr Smith, "of production is "consumption, yet the interest of the producers "enters much more into the calculation and anxiety "of statesmen, than the interest of the consumer." Almost every commercial regulation that is adopted, has been upon the representation of the manufacturer, and not upon the representation of him who employs him. The manufacturer is regarded as a far more elevated kind of being than a mere servant, who administers by his labour to the gratification of his employers; and the manufacture is regarded as a concern of far greater importance to the country, than it could ever derive from the mere function of providing a set of enjoyments to customers. A national importance has been annexed to the mere operations of making buckles and carpets, and clocks and watches, and stone-ware. Some mysterious

inexplicable virtue is ascribed to these operations, altogether independent of the usefulness or agreeableness of their productions. It appears to me, that the sole use of buckles lies in tightening our shoes, and the sole use of carpets lies in covering the floors of our houses. But they exercise a far sublimer function in the eye of many a political reasoner. They are made to contribute, in some way or other, to the power and resources of the nation. They form part of the *manufacturing interest*, and this is a mighty name, that has all the omnipotence of a charm with a politician of the mercantile school. He has departed from the obvious idea of a manufacture, which is, that the whole amount of its usefulness is to contribute to the enjoyment of customers. He ascribes to it some original independent virtue. He erects it into a factitious interest, and thinks that the strength of the country is linked with its preservation.

Anxiety about the preservation of a particular manufacture is as groundless and unwise, as any of the anxieties of superstition. Leave manufactures to themselves and they will accommodate to the general demand of the country. To interfere with the employments of the disposable population, is as impertinent as to interfere with the distribution of servants in a household, or to controul the master of a family in the concerns of his domestic management.

But a manufacture may be destroyed from a different cause; not in consequence of any change in the taste of customers, but in consequence of some overwhelming necessity, which neither the manufacturer nor the customer can controul. For example, the ground-work of the manufacture may be a particular metal, which is extracted from the bowels of the earth. If all the mines of this metal become exhausted, the manufacture must be annihilated, because it can obtain no further supplies of the raw material out of which the commodity is formed. Now, what is the precise amount of the mischief, and who are the chief sufferers in this forcible termination of the manufacture? The mercantile politician deceives himself on this subject, and the habit of attending more to the interest of the producer, than to the interest of the consumer, appears distinctly in the estimate which he forms. He conceives the people employed in the manufacture to be the principal sufferers, and for them he reserves the whole of his sympathy. He never thinks of the injury which the customer sustains by the loss of that convenience which the manufacture supplied him with. He never suffers the interest of the consumer to enter into his estimate; his mind is entirely engrossed with the interests of the workmen, and he broods over the gloomy images of a numerous population thrown out of employment,

and many thousand families reduced to beggary and distress.

Now, it appears to me, that the consumer is the proper object of sympathy, because, in the long run, the whole amount of the mischief which ensues from the destruction of the manufacture, is the loss of that convenience which the manufacture supplied him with. With regard to the people employed in the manufacture, their employment may be destroyed, but their maintenance remains; and it will infallibly be expended upon them for some new species of industry. Their customers, if debarred from purchasing the articles of their manufacture, will feel a redundancy in their incomes, and this redundancy will infallibly discharge itself upon the purchase of some new article of luxury and consumption. The food and the commodities which the discarded manufacturer received as an equivalent for his labour, still remain in the country, and they are still in reserve to give him the same maintenance as before, in another capacity. The whole amount of the mischief to him, is that temporary inconvenience which attends the change of employment. Now, to the consumer the mischief is permanent. He loses for ever that article of enjoyment which the annihilated manufacture had formerly been in the habit of supplying him with. True, the ability to purchase still remains with him, but then the commodity he would like to

purchase no longer exists. This ability he expends on something else, and gives the same employment and maintenance to the disposable population of the country as ever. But then he gets a return that is probably less agreeable to him. He has abandoned the old enjoyment, not because he was inclined to do it, but because he was compelled to do it, from the forcible termination of the old manufacture. It is here, then, that the mischief lies. The whole amount of the suffering in the long run is, that the consumer has been forced to renounce one set of enjoyments for others that are less agreeable to his taste and inclinations.

When the article which a manufacture prepares for its customers is very essential to their comfort, or approaches in any degree to a necessary of existence, the greatness of the calamity that ensues from the annihilation of this manufacture has the effect of doing away the delusion which I am now attempting to expose, and of restoring people to an accurate estimate of the mischief which the country sustains. When I put the case of our coal mines being exhausted, the reflection which arises is not, What will our miners and coal-heavers do for want of employment? though they form part of the manufacturing interest; nor is it, What will the seamen who navigate our colliers do for want of their employment? though they form part of the shipping in-

terest of the country. All anxiety about the people employed in these processes is lost in the far greater mischief which the country sustains from the want of so necessary a commodity; and the reflection which naturally arises is, What will people do for want of coals? The mischief here is so great, and so obvious, that there is no possibility of mistaking where it lies. The truth is, that it is not the people engaged in the business of providing coals who are the principal sufferers. The ability to maintain them still exists in the country, and the whole amount of the mischief to them is ultimately a change of employment. It is the consumer who is the principal sufferer, and the suffering is of so serious a kind, that, even in spite of our mercantile delusions, we allow it to engross the whole of our sympathy. The stagnation of employment among the workmen never enters into our anxiety, and the whole of our concern is about the loss of such an excellent fuel, or the necessity of resorting to substitutes that are far less commodious.

What is true of coal, is true of every other commodity which the industry of the disposable population prepares for the enjoyment of customers. The whole amount of the mischief which ensues from the annihilation of the manufacture that produces the commodity, is the loss of the enjoyment. If the enjoyment is not very essential to comfort, so much the better; it alleviates

the mischief. It is upon the nature of the enjoyment, and upon it alone, that I would form my estimate. The case of the people employed in the manufacture would not distress me. Their maintenance still exists in the country. It will not lie idle, but be employed in giving some new direction to their industry I would never suffer the ruin of a manufacture to fill me with despondency or alarm. To the country, it is only the loss of an enjoyment, or rather, the exchange of one enjoyment for another. To the workmen, it is only, in the long run, a change of employment; and, amid all these vicissitudes, I contemplate the uniform spectacle of a great country maintaining the same extent of disposable population, and controuling the direction of its energies, in the manner most suited to the taste and emergency of the times.

I would ask, at what period, in the history of this country, did the destruction of any manufacture ever arrest its progress in the career of opulence and prosperity. New manufactures have risen into existence, and old ones have dropt into annihilation; but amid all these revolutions of employment, has not the number of inhabitants always kept pace with the agricultural produce of the country? Has not every year witnessed an addition to the disposable population? and where, from one end of the island to the other, is there a single man in ordinary

health, that may not earn the subsistence of a labourer, or a single neighbourhood that languishes for want of employment?

But there is still another way in which the employments of manufacturing industry may be trenched upon. The government of a country may impose a tax upon consumers, and appropriate to itself part of that fund which is expended on the maintenance of the disposable population. If it levy a tax in kind, it will engross part of the agricultural produce and other necessaries of life, for the direct maintenance of its own labourers. If it levy the tax in money, it comes to the same thing. It appropriates to itself the power of taking that agricultural produce at pleasure. There is nothing in money that should at all embarrass or modify any of our conclusions. It may be considered as a mere deed of conveyance, or a promissory-note, the production of which in a market, entitles its holder to so much, either of the grain or other necessaries of life, which are to be had in the country. If government take from me thirty pounds in the form of a tax, it takes from me the power of purchasing a certain quantity of the necessaries of life; it appropriates that power to itself; and it is perfectly equivalent to its forcing me to surrender the *ipsa corpora*, the money's worth, instead of the money. With that power, I could have purchased so much of every

article that enters into the maintenance of a labourer; and of course, could have commanded the services of one man in the disposable population of the country. Or, what is the same thing, I could have given that man the thirty pounds; I could have made the power over to him, and left him the trouble of purchasing his own maintenance. At all events, if government has taken away the power from me, it engrosses to itself the maintenance of one member of the disposable population. He was formerly maintained by me, but his maintenance has been wrested from me in the form of a tax. I am therefore forced to dismiss him from my employment; but though compelled to abandon my service, his maintenance still exists in the country; the tax does not annihilate the power of maintaining him; it only transfers that power to a different quarter. It is now in the hands of government, and from its hands, it can be awarded to him with as much liberality, as it was from the hands of a private individual.

"This, then, is the real operation of a tax. It trenches upon my power of expenditure, and forces me to withdraw from certain articles of luxury and consumption. The price which I paid for these articles went to maintain so many of the disposable population who were employed in preparing them. But the tax compels me to make over this maintenance to the government of the country. It forces me to dismiss so many

of the disposable population from my employment, and to make them over to the service of government. To me, the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of those luxuries which the tax has compelled me to abandon. To the disposable population who provided me with these luxuries, the whole amount of the mischief is a change of employment. They get the same maintenance as before, but it is in the new capacity of servants to the public.

The fact is, that almost every addition which government makes to our taxes, is immediately employed in maintaining an additional number of labourers in its own service. If it is with a view to raise an addition to our military force, the produce of the additional tax has the effect of alluring so many of the disposable population from their present employment in the service of private individuals, to the new employment of soldiers in the service of the state. If it is with a view to add to our naval or military stores, the tax has the effect of withdrawing so many of the disposable population from the office of administering to the luxury of individuals; to the office of manufacturing sail-cloth and armour, and all the other articles of military equipment. If it is even with a view to be thrown away in supporting a system of corruption, and enriching a tribe of pensioners at the expence of the public, still it has the effect of withdrawing the dispos-

able population from the old employment of administering at large to the luxuries of the country, to the new employment of administering to the luxury of those menials and dependants of a court who are now vested with the ability of maintaining them. A tax does not annihilate the maintenance of labourers. It only transfers that maintenance to a different quarter. It throws them loose from their old employments, but only that they may be translated into those new employments which the government of the country has opened up for them.

It is worthy of remark, that the change of employment which I am at present explaining, is not attended with so much distress to the disposable population, as in any of the former examples where the annihilation of a manufacture was produced by a revolution in the taste of the customers, or by some other necessity, which it is neither in the power of customer nor manufacturer to controul. In these two cases, it may take some time before the expenditure of individuals settles itself in some new direction, so as to give full employment to the discarded workmen; they may have a new trade to learn, and be worse paid than before, until they arrive at a proficiency in their new occupations. At all events, they may suffer for a few months under the agony of suspense, and the distressing prospect of languishing in want with their families until something cast up for them. But in that change of employment

which a tax brings upon the disposable population, there is no such uncertainty. Their old employments have been annihilated; but only because an equal number of new employments has been previously provided for them. If government adds to the taxes of the country, because it wishes to extend its military establishment, then all the population, who are of consequence dismissed from the walks of manufacturing industry, have the obvious shift before them of entering into the army. There is no suspense, and no temporary embarrassment; and from the first moment of their enlisting into the public service, they are entitled to the full pay and emoluments of a soldier.

The man who institutes a new manufacture, is looked up to with gratitude, because he gives employment to many families, and holds out to the labourer a refuge against poverty and despair. Why should not the government of the country be looked up to, with equal gratitude, by all its children? Its service stands in the place of this new manufacture. It holds out a refuge to idleness, and could even admit into its bosom all those labourers, whom either the caprice of fashion, or the necessity of circumstances, has dismissed from their former employments *.

* I here suppose, that the pay of a soldier is equal to the general run of wages in the country. The effect of depressing his pay below the general run of wages I consider afterwards.

The mischief, then, which this change of employment brings upon the discarded workmen, is less than in any of the other cases which have been considered; and to the consumer, the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of his luxuries. In the first example of a change of employment, the effect to the consumer was the exchange of one luxury for another, more agreeable to him. In the second example, it was the exchange of one luxury for another less agreeable to him; and in the third example, where the tax compels him to abandon the use of certain luxuries, the amount of the mischief is conceived to be the loss of these luxuries. But this, perhaps, is not a fair estimate. The population, whom the tax has forced him to dismiss from his service, may still be said to labour for his advantage in the service of the public. Instead of administering to his luxuries in the capacity of workmen, they administer to his security in the capacity of soldiers. Like the two first examples, it may be considered as the exchange of one advantage for another.

The whole value of a manufacture, lies in the enjoyment that accrues to the purchaser from the consumption of its commodities. If the money expended on these commodities is withdrawn from the purchase of them, and given in the form of a tax to government, the manufacture is annihilated. Now, what is the precise extent of the

mischief which ensues? Does it diminish the extent of our disposable population? No. The food and commodities which supported the whole train of labourers engaged in the manufacture, still exist in the country; and will give the same comfort and subsistence as before to an equal number; only their industry is directed to another employment. Does it ruin the capitalist? If the country conceived itself bound in justice to him, that portion of food and commodities which were awarded to him in the form of profit, still exists, and the ability lies with government to give him a full indemnification. The whole extent of disposable population is supported; and the only loss that is sustained, is the loss of the manufactured commodity, the loss of an enjoyment. This is the simple alternative. This is the whole extent of the mischief that is sustained; every gloomy anticipation of national ruin, and poverty, and disorder, is unfounded; it is an airy and unsupported illusion, a mere spectre of melancholy, which, like the phantom of superstition, can only assail the hearts of the ignorant.

I selected one manufacture merely as the example and illustration of a general argument. It applies, without exception, to every article which is prepared by the industry of our disposable population, and which serves to administer to the luxury and enjoyment of individuals. If the necessities of the state call for the whole price of

these enjoyments, then all the branches of manufacturing industry that are carried on by the disposable population, would be annihilated; an immense train of labourers would be thrown out of employment; and a temporary alarm would spread terror and despondency over the face of the island. But the food and the commodities which formerly supported them in one capacity, will now support them equally well in another. They will now be at the disposal of government. As the food and the commodities which formerly supported them, have shifted hands, they will shift their employers. They will follow their subsistence where it can be found. They will be taken into the service of the state. Instead of contributing to the luxury of their employers; they will contribute to their defence, to their security, and to the preservation of their liberties. I do not deny that there will be a change; but the change is not so dreadful as we anticipate. The whole mischief simply reduces itself to the loss of certain enjoyments; and, after the alarm of a few months, we will see the country supporting the same extent of disposable population; and having its industry directed according to the emergency of the times.

The economy to which a tax compels individuals, brings along with it the decay or annihilation of many branches of manufacture. But if the savings of that economy are contributed to government, it can be proved, that

every shilling which parsimony withdraws from the expenditure of individuals, is a clear and effectual addition to the public revenue. When I retrench from my own enjoyments, I diminish the number of that disposable population who contribute to them by their industry. When I give the price of these retrenchments to government, I enable it to support the disposable population whom I have discarded from my service. They shift their employer. Instead of administering to my luxury in the capacity of manufacturers, they administer to my security and protection in the capacity of servants to the state. The same extent of disposable population is supported as before; and the whole amount of the mischief, is the loss of luxury and splendour, and gratification to the factitious desires of our nature.

However ardent the patriotism of a country, no wise legislature would ever depend on its voluntary contributions to the public service. This would be both risking the public interest of the country; and it would be a most unfair thing to the individuals who live in it. It would be neither more nor less than a tax upon generosity. The pure disinterested patriot would entail every privation upon his family, while the gross and selfish would riot in luxury, or give every effort to sordid accumulation. Public virtue would open all its stores to the support of an ani-

mating cause, while private selfishness would retire from observation, and sneak behind in dishonourable concealment. The true way of levying the disposable wealth of the country in an equal and impartial manner, is by the method of assessment, by the imposition of a compulsory tax. Let the patriotism of the country be evinced, not by the obtrusive offers of its generosity; but by its cheerful acquiescence in what the wisdom of the legislature thinks fit to impose upon it. The tax compels them to economy, reduces them to the necessity of retrenchments, forces them to dismiss a great part of that disposable population which had before contributed to their luxuries, and, without sweeping away that disposable population from the face of the country, it only transfers them to another employment; it makes them over to the service of government, where they will be as well supported as they were before, in the service of their customers.

Many take alarm at the idea of our manufactures being trenched upon; and are louder than ever about the miseries of taxation, when they come to see that it exerts a malignant operation upon the manufacturing interest. Let them recollect, that the sole purpose of this manufacturing interest is to contribute to the enjoyment of customers; and if greater enjoyment is to be had by turning the expenditure to another channel, there should not be a moment's hesitation, though eve-

ry manufacture of the country was annihilated. The tax which I give to government, goes to purchase my security. I balance the enjoyment I derive from security, with the enjoyment I derive from the luxuries which I have been forced to abandon; and if the one enjoyment outweighs the other, I do not feel that the tax has either done an injury to myself, or produced any derangement in the circumstances of the nation.

Many opprobrious epithets are annexed to taxation. It is said to exhaust and impoverish the country, when in fact it only turns the expenditure of the country to a different object, and gives such a direction to the industry of its people, as is most suitable to its interest in the existing circumstances. If a village is erected in the neighbourhood of a gentleman's garden or pleasure-grounds, it may expose him to more depredation than formerly, and he may have to hire an additional servant, to guard him against the annoyance of his neighbours. To maintain this servant, he must, perhaps, retrench in other articles of expenditure, and he, in effect, withdraws the maintenance of one man from the people who were formerly employed in preparing these articles, and gives that maintenance to a man, for what he conceives the more valuable object of security against the invasion of his neighbours. The parallel exactly holds with the country at large. A mighty power may arise in its neighbourhood, and threaten all Europe with the vio-

lence of its depredations. Government is, therefore, called upon to direct the expenditure of the country, to the purchase of security. It taxes its subjects; and, in so doing, it withdraws part of the disposable population from the manufacture of luxuries, and gives them the same maintenance as before, in the new employment of fighting for our liberties. It imitates the natural process which is observed by every individual in the like circumstances. There is nothing either alarming or extraordinary in the change. The *taste* of a country may change, and its expenditure be turned from the purchase of buckles, to the purchase of shoe-strings. The *circumstances* of a country may change, and its expenditure be turned from the purchase of certain luxuries, to the purchase of defence, and security, and independence.

There is no doubt, that, in thus providing for our security against invasion, we are submitting to an unpleasant necessity; but, if it is a necessity, it is the call of prudence and interest to accommodate to it. If the temperature of our climate was so mild and uniform, as to save us the necessity of houses, the occupation of a mason would be utterly unknown. All that agricultural produce which goes to support our masons, would be reserved for another purpose, would be discharged on some other branch of expenditure; would purchase for us some additional enjoyment in another quarter, and give greater extent and

prosperity to some other species of manufacturing industry. But, in the actual circumstances of man, a house is necessary, and part of his wealth must be discharged on the support and wages of those tradesmen who build it for him. It is a pity that the elements of nature should be so unkindly, and that, to defend himself against them, man must surrender so much of that wealth which secures him the blessings and the advantages of existence. But a house must be had; he must expend part of his wealth on building it; for, without shelter from the inclemency of the weather, every other pleasure of his condition would be at an end.

If the character of the species was so just and innocent, as to save us the necessity of armies, the occupation of a soldier would be utterly unknown. All that wealth which goes to the maintenance of our soldiers, would be reserved for another destination, and purchase us some new enjoyment in another quarter. But, in the actual state of the human character, an army is necessary, and part of our wealth must be expended on the wages of those individuals who compose it. It is a pity that the constitution of man should be so perverse, and that so much enjoyment should be sacrificed, in defending ourselves from the inroad of such dreadful elements, as human injustice, and human ambition. But this we cannot help; we must take our situation as

we find it; a sufficient army must be had, and we must expend part of our wealth in raising and maintaining it; for without security from conquest and invasion, I defy all the splendour and luxury of the world to give felicity to our existence.

The great end and advantage of wealth, is to give accommodation to the desires and necessities of the species. Manufactures can never be regarded as the ultimate objects of an enlightened policy. They should only be regarded as means, as expedients for gratifying some of the desires and appetites of our nature; as instruments for administering to the convenience or pleasurable feelings of the consumer. The value of a manufacture is not to be estimated by any original or inherent virtue that it may be supposed to possess. It is entirely to be estimated by the capacity it possesses of administering to the enjoyment of the purchaser. If a higher enjoyment is proposed to him, let the old manufacture be instantly abandoned, and let the wealth which supported it be transferred to another species of industry, more suitable to the taste or convenience of the country. If a calamity is to be averted, let this be compared with the loss of any one of our enjoyments; and if it overbalance that loss, let the enjoyment be instantly dispensed with, and its price expended on providing against the calamity which threatens us. The preservation

of the manufacture is not the question. The question resolves itself entirely into the pleasure and advantage of him who uses the produce of the manufacture. The manufacturer is the servant of the consumer. His wages are paid by the consumer. It is the wealth of the consumer that gives motion to his industry, and that industry must take any direction which the consumer chooses to impress upon it. The whole amount of the mischief to the manufacturer, is not the loss, or even the diminution, of his maintenance. It is the change of employment. The consumer has the right of controuling or modifying that employment at pleasure. All the consumers of the country have that right, and, by the concurrence of their taste, can bring about a general revolution of employment. A decision of the legislation, as expressive of the general will of the consumers, can bring about this general revolution. It can impose a tax. It can appropriate to itself that fund that was formerly destined for the purchase of certain luxuries, or for supporting a part of our population in the employment of providing them. That population it can take into its own service. Their old employment may have gone to wreck: Their old species of industry may have been annihilated. But this, I maintain, is of no consequence, and ought never to be introduced as a principle to influence the decisions of our legislature. Their employment is of no other ad-

vantage, than as it conduces to the wants and pleasures of their customers. If they have a greater want for defence, than for luxury, if they feel a greater pleasure in security than in the accommodations which the industry of tradesmen and manufacturers can afford them, the question is decided. It lies entirely in this simple point. Industry must take that direction that is most suited to the taste and circumstances of those who pay for it, and who support it. In a state of alarm at the growing power and resources of the enemy, it must be directed to the purposes of defence and military preparation. You may say that this is exhausting and impoverishing the country: There is something very formidable in these terms: but the whole amount of the calamity reduces itself to this, that the people of the country are forced to withdraw from certain enjoyments, in order to provide for that highest of all enjoyments, the enjoyment of protection and security.

One of the chief reasons why a delusive importance has been annexed to the manufacturing interest, is, that the supplies for the public service are in general raised by a tax upon manufactured commodities. If the manufacture did not exist, neither would the tax; and it is therefore supposed that it is to the manufacture we are indebted for all the addition which the tax contributes to the public revenue of the country. But

surely it can only require to be mentioned, that it is not the manufacture which contributes a single farthing to the public revenue. It is the ability of him who purchases its commodities. The tax upon a manufactured article is laid upon the price, and all that the manufacture does, is to supply government with a road by which it may arrive at the wealth of its customers. The manufacture may be destroyed, but the ability of the consumer remains; and all that government has to do, is to devise some new path by which to reach it.

A tax upon a commodity has the effect of throwing the disposable population of the country into two parts. One part is maintained by the tax, and labours for the public service of the country. The other part is maintained by the natural price of the commodity, and, in manufacturing that commodity, it labours in the private service of individuals. If the manufacture is destroyed, government can still levy the same tax as before upon the consumer, though in a different way. It can even do more. It can levy such a heavy assessment as would force us to let down our expenditure, and abandon the use of the commodity altogether. It can destroy the manufacture, because it can engross the whole price, instead of a fraction. It can gain an addition to its revenue by the whole natural price of the commodity; and it can gain an addition to its

servants, by the whole of that second part of the disposable population which is employed in the manufacture. After the destruction of the manufacture, it can become richer than ever; and from the ruins of the manufacturing interest, it can collect the means of adding to the military establishment of the country.

It is certainly doing a kindness to a tradesman to be his customer. He derives from this circumstance all the profit of the articles which I buy from him. But it would certainly be doing him a greater kindness, if I could dispense with these articles altogether, and present him with the whole price. No doubt, it would make his sale duller; there would not be such a run upon his shop; he would lose the agreeable exercise of handing me his goods, and receiving my money over his counter; it would take away a little from that briskness of sale which is the general indication of a tradesman's prosperity. But still it would have the effect of augmenting his income; he would clear the whole price instead of a fraction; we would not see the effect of this liberality in his shop, but we would see it, perhaps, in his house, in the improved stile of his living, in the encreased comfort of his family.

The parallel exactly holds with government and its subjects. It may be doing government a service to purchase a manufactured commodity, and enable it to derive the whole tax that is im-

posed upon this article. But it would certainly be doing it a greater service, if I could dispense with the commodity altogether, and present government with the whole price. No doubt it would have the effect of diminishing the manufactures of the country. It would curtail our list of exciseable commodities; it would take away from the parade of sales and remittances, which is assumed by many a politician as the infallible indication of a nation's prosperity. But still it would have the effect of augmenting the public revenue. Government would receive the whole price, instead of a fraction. The effect of this liberality on the part of its subjects might not be seen in the journals of a custom-house, but it would be felt at the treasury; it would be seen in the increased extent of our armaments, in the grandeur of our naval and military perparations, and in the prouder attitude which we could assume to the enemies of our country.

The principle that I labour to establish appears so clear and undeniable, that many of my intelligent readers will think that none but a trifler would discuss it. But the truth is, there is such an inveteracy in the prejudices of the country, that it is impossible to expend too much power and variety of illustration. What! will I be told that the discussion is superfluous, when I hear in every company that the sole dependence of the country is its trade? that its power and poli-

tical consequence is built on the brittle foundation of commerce and manufactures; and that if these should fail us, we from that moment sink into poverty and impotence, and the lowest extremity of political degradation? Will I be told that the discussion is superfluous, when I hear every day the most ruinous maxims circulated through all the ranks of the community? When, in the writings of our first political economists, it is asserted, with the most grave and didactic formality, that the prosperity of a country lies in the profusion of the individuals who compose it? When such a destructive opinion as this receives the sanction of our first political characters, and must therefore have a most alarming effect in perverting the spirit and proceedings of our legislature?

A manufacture can do nothing more than contribute its own article to the enjoyment of customers. It can give no revenue to government. There is no creative, no inherent virtue in the manufacture; It is the consumer who contributes the revenue. All the wealth which government derives from its taxes on manufactured commodities, is to be traced to the ability of the customers. To destroy the manufacture, therefore, is not to destroy the ability of the country; it is only to change the customary or established road, by which government arrived at the wealth of its subjects. All that a manufacture can do is to

furnish its own article for the enjoyment of its supporters, and give employment to part of our disposable population. If this manufacture is annihilated, the whole mischief sustained is the loss of the article. It does not affect the ability of its supporters; their redundant wealth remains with them, to be given to the discarded population for some new service, some new species of industry.

If the public revenue is derived from taxes upon commodities, it is not a fair trial of the ability of the country. It is allowing the country to maintain an immense disposable population for the supply of its luxuries, and only reserving a fraction, a remainder, of this population for the service of the state. It is proceeding upon the supposition, that the article of luxury must be prepared in the first instance, and that government must content itself with the crumbs and fragments, which, in the overflow of their gratification, the people of the country suffer to be left for the starving necessities of the public. It is making the indulgence of private luxury take the precedency of our great and national interests, and connecting the interest of the revenue with the profuse expenditure of individuals.

A fair trial of the ability of a country, is not what it can contribute from its extravagance, but what it contributes from its economy; not what it can spare for the public necessities, after having taken its full swing of luxurious indulgence, but

what it can spare from the provisions of an easy and comfortable temperance.

To estimate the resources of the nation, I would examine no catalogues of merchandise, and inspect the journals of no custom-house. I would cast my eye over the face of the country. I would enter every house, and take an inventory of all that I found in it. I would examine the establishment of every family. I would calculate the amount of their enjoyments, and compare it with the physical necessities of our constitution. I would compute the numbers of the disposable population employed in supporting a retinue which could be dismissed, or in administering to luxuries which could be dispensed with. I would survey the splendour and extravagance of the country, and while a single article of retrenchment remained, I would say, that the revenue had not arrived at its limit, nor had the nation put forth all its energies.

But it is not necessary to suppose the tax to be carried to such an extent, as compel the consumer to abandon the use of the commodity altogether. It may only moderate and restrain his consumption. Then the manufacture which produces the commodity, is not annihilated, it is only diminished. This supposition approaches nearer to reality than a total retrenchment in the use of the commodity, or a total annihilation of the manufacture. A heavy imposition by government may not have the effect of forcing me to give up altogether the use of manufac-

tured luxuries, but it may force me to be a little more sparing in the use of them. It may compel me to a habit of retrenchment which might extend to many articles of consumption. I may be more economical in the article of dress. I may dismiss one or two servants from my establishment. I may let down the elegance of my household, and dismiss a number of those workmen from my employment, who contributed repairs and additions to my furniture. The different trades and manufactures which supply the country in these articles may still remain, but they will be reduced in point of extent; they will soon accommodate their supplies to the demand of their customers; they will be compelled to discard a part of that disposable population that they formerly employed. But these discarded workmen will be taken into the service of government; the savings of that economy which has withdrawn their maintenance from them as tradesmen and manufacturers, are now at the disposal of government, and will yield them the same maintenanee as before in the new capacity of servants to the public.

When the economy of the country effects a total retrenchment in any article of luxury, then all the disposable population employed in preparing that article are thrown out of employment, and may be transferred to the service of government. When this economy only effects a partial retrenchment, then it is only part of the disposable population that is thus transferred to the service of government. But this

economy is effectual as far as it goes; the whole amount of its savings is a clear addition to the public revenue, and though it has not contributed to the utmost extent, it may have made the most material and important accessions to the public revenue of the country.

It would perhaps be putting the patriotism of the country to too severe a trial, to lop off, by a sudden augmentation of its taxes, all the splendour and luxury that prevails in it. The revenue, except in the most trying emergencies of the state, should be made to advance by slow, and almost imperceptible, advances; manufactures be allowed to drop silently into decay and annihilation, and the people, by gradually reducing their expenditure, be let gently down to humble and temperate establishments.

While there is room, however, for economy and retrenchment on the part of individuals, there is room for the augmentation of the public revenue. This economy has the effect of withdrawing a part of the disposable population from the employment of administering to private luxury. But this disposable population will not be annihilated. The food and the commodities which they formerly received from the hand of their employers, they will still receive from the hands of government. A new direction will be impressed upon their industry. Instead of labouring for our splendour, and sensual gratification, they will labour in the capacity of public servants,

for the preservation of our liberties, and the vindication of our national glory and independence.

It is necessary to urge these considerations in a country full of ardent but mistaken patriotism, full of devoted enthusiasm to the public interest, but bewildered from the path that leads to it by the infatuation of mercantile prejudices. How many are there who justify the profusion of their expenditure, under the pretext that it encourages manufactures, and contributes to his majesty's revenue. Let them learn that it is not the employment which supports manufactures, but the price that is paid for it; it is not the extravagance of its subjects which supports the government, but a wealth which economy could improve into a ten-fold offering.

Every article that I retrench from my consumption, may be converted into a real and effectual gain to the public interest. The man who prepared that article might be as well supported in another employment. By transferring the price of the article to government, I enable it to sustain the man whom I have discarded from my service. He now becomes the servant of the state, and the whole amount of the mischief, is, that I am debarred from a luxurious indulgence, which I had before been accustomed to.

To estimate the extent, then, of our national resources, we have only to compute the amount of our possible retrenchments. It is not what we can spare from our present establishments, but how far these establishments will admit of being reduced; not the

overplus of that profuse expenditure which supports our stile and our consequence in the neighbourhood, but in how far that stile and consequence may be brought down so as to leave us the necessities of existence. Apply this criterion, and I will venture to say, that the country was never so full of strength and resources as at this moment, never such an extent of disposable population, never so much comfort and accommodation among families, never such a quantity of luxurious and expensive indulgence, never so many of our people employed in administering to them, never such a number of the disposable population that can be dispensed with and transferred to the public service of the country.

Contribute only a part of this disposable population, and you will oppose an invincible barrier to the dangers which may surround us. The only evil which ensues is, that we lose the luxuries which their industry had before prepared for us; but if they are luxuries, they can be wanted; an existence will be left us, and all the energy of our spare population will be called out to defend this existence from the oppressions of a cruel and malignant tyranny.

We have nothing to distrust in the patriotism of our people; but we have to fear the prejudice and false alarm which ever attend a proposed innovation in the circumstances of the country. The tax which precludes us from our luxuries would annihilate a thousand branches of trade and manufactures, and in the downfall of these, many would anticipate the

ruin and overthrow of our nation. It would be neither more nor less than a transference of employment. It would be exchanging our luxuries for our security and independence. It would be the march of a great people to assert its liberties, and repel the encroachments of a restless and turbulent ambition. It would not be annihilation of power It would be a change in its direction. Instead of being expended in contributing to our enjoyment, our magnificence, and parade, it would be expended in contributing to the nobler purposes of defence, and tranquillity, and protection.

It is ridiculous to talk of the manufacturing interest, as if it formed an essential part of the system of the country, or as if its overthrow could plunge the nation into the lowest state of helplessness and imbecility. All that a manufacture can do, is to offer its productions for the benefit and enjoyment of those who may choose to purchase them. The whole amount of the mischief sustained, is the loss of enjoyment to the consumers. A value is often attached to manufactures, independently of the pleasure and advantage that they yield to the person who uses them. It is not their subservience to enjoyment that constitutes their value in the estimation of many a political reasoner. They are looked up to as an original and independent interest, as possessing in themselves some native and inherent ability, and as if the very existence of the country depended upon their prosperity and extension. I maintain, that after

you have described the use of their commodities to the private consumer, you have exhausted the enumeration of their advantages. The wear and consumption of him who uses them, absorbs the full effect of all the industry that has been employed upon their production. They expend all their virtue in administering to the pleasurable feelings of the purchaser. The manufacturer himself does not ascribe his wealth to the employment. He ascribes it to the ability of the purchaser. Government ought not to ascribe any part of its revenue to the manufacture, because it lays a tax upon its commodities. It should ascribe it to the same source, the ability of the purchaser. This ability remains, let the fate of the manufacture be what it may. The sole use of the manufacture to government, is to indicate a road by which it may arrive at the wealth of its subjects. Let the manufacture perish, and government will only have to devise some new path to that wealth which is permanent and unperishable. The sole advantage of the manufacture is not to contribute revenue, but to direct government where that revenue is to be found; and for this petty subordinate advantage, will our legislators pursue the most ruinous and mistaken policy, turn their attention from the solid wealth and resources of the country, give themselves up to the most womanish despair, because they see symptoms of decay in the manufacturing interests of the nation, and rest a primary importance on what is not the cause of wealth, but its indication?

It is very strange, that the extension of our manufactures has ever been supposed to contribute to the strength and resources of the empire. All that it possibly can do is, to contribute a more copious supply of articles of consumption. A manufacture can neither give additional extent to our army, nor can it give additional extent to our means of maintaining it. The fact is, that, so far as it goes, it serves to impair the military strength of the country. It engrosses to itself all the natural price that is paid for its articles. It absorbs part of the wealth of the country. It exhausts so much of the ability of consumers, which ability, had it not been expended on the support of the manufacture, might have been expended on the maintenance of an army. This manufacture must have labourers to carry it on, and it therefore engrosses so many of the disposable population of the country. It keeps them back from entering into the army; and if we have a military establishment at all, it is not in consequence of manufactures, but in spite of them.

It would certainly be a very strange way of giving additional extent to our cotton manufacture, to turn the expenditure of the country as much as possible to the consumption of linens. If the cotton manufacture is to be extended at all, it must be by withdrawing the wealth of the country from other articles of consumption; it must be at the expence of other manufactures. It would be as strange a way of giving additional extent to our army, to turn the expenditure of the country as much as possible

to the consumption of manufactured commodities. If the army is to be extended at all, it must be by withdrawing the wealth of the country from the support of manufactures; it must be by trenching upon the manufacturing interest; and the extension of this interest, which is hailed by many a politician as the life and vigour of the nation, is the very thing which keeps down our military strength, and prevents the country from availing itself of its natural energies.

Dr Smith calculates, that in an agricultural country, one-fourth or one-fifth of the whole population may be called out to military service in cases of emergency; but he seems at the same time to concur in the idea, that it would be ruin to any civilized country of Europe, to maintain more than a hundredth part of its population in the capacity of soldiers. In a nation of mere husbandmen, where each man lends his hand to the work of providing subsistence, there must be a great deal of spare time for pieces of occasional and temporary service. The system of agriculture which prevails indeed in the earlier states of society, does not call for the exercises of a constant and unremitting industry, and can dispense for months at a time with all the men of military age who may therefore be called out for the purposes of defence. But in the progress of civilization, the division of employment has superseded the old system. Agriculture has become the distinct occupation of one class of labourers, who, under the active system of an improved management, give to it the whole of their in-

dustry, and could not be spared perhaps for a single week in the year without impairing the produce of the land. The remaining labourers of the country, with the exception of those employed in making up the second necessaries of existence, are distributed according to the pleasure of the proprietors of their maintenance. They constitute the disposable population of the country, and if their employers have a demand for articles of luxury, they of course throw themselves into the walks of trading and manufacturing industry. But what hinders their being recalled from these employments? If the proprietor of their maintenance chooses to turn his expenditure from the enjoyment of luxury to the enjoyment of protection, what is the mysterious and inexplicable necessity which can operate to prevent it? I can make my family wear less muslin, and purchase more household furniture, than I did formerly. I can therefore withdraw so many of the disposable population from the loom, and force them to handle the tools of a joiner, or a house-carpenter. Or, I can wear less muslin, and pay more taxes than I did formerly. I can therefore withdraw so many labourers from the loom, and force them to handle the weapons of a soldier. If there is any difference in these two cases, the one transformation can be effected with more facility, and with less inconvenience, than the other. At all events, I would never say that the military strength of the country had arrived at its limit, till I had abandoned every indulgence which is beyond the condi-

tion of a labourer, or till I had withdrawn the last man of the disposable population from the manufacture of luxuries.

Let a labourer assume the trade of a smith, a carpenter, or a weaver. What is that insurmountable fatality which fixes him down to his employment, and hinders the possibility of his ever being translated into the public service of the country? I am not speaking of the smith who manufactures implements of husbandry; he forms one of the agricultural population; nor do I speak of the carpenter and the weaver, who provide any of those secondary accommodations which are annexed to the general condition of the peasantry; they form part of the second division of the population of a country. But how many a smith is employed in the manufacture of ornaments which I can dispense with? How many a carpenter in preparing articles of furniture, which are not necessary, even to my comfort? And how many a weaver in contributing merely to the splendour of my rooms, or the elegance of my apparel? All such manufacturers as these belong to the disposable population, and every one of them can be made over to the service of government: And is this disposable population, I would ask, only a hundreth part of the whole population of a country? I see much more than a hundreth part of the British population actually employed in the public service of the country; and when I survey the amount of our

possible retrenchments, I would consider a tenth part as a much nearer approximation to the truth.

The labour of man, says Dr Smith, is rendered much more productive in consequence of the division of employment. In a nation of mere husbandmen, each man has to labour for his own subsistence, and he has also to labour in procuring for himself all the other accommodations of human life. Each man is his own mason, his own shoemaker, his own clothier. But in the progress of society, the labour of agriculture forms the entire occupation of one class of the community; and the labour of furnishing every other accomomodation forms the entire employment of another class of the community. Each gives an undivided attention to one business, and such is the advantage of this new distribution of employment, that more food is produced, more cloth manufactured, better houses built, and a greater quantity of every accommodation is brought forward, than under the original system. There are fewer manufacturers than before, because under the old system every man was his own manufacturer. But more manufactured commodities are produced, because the labour of the manufacturing class has been rendered more productive, in consequence of the division of employment.

Now, what is true of a manufacturer, is true of a soldier. Make the business of arms the distinct employment of one class of the community, and they will be far more expert and powerful in the use of

them, than if their attention was distracted by other occupations. In the early states of society, every man was occasionally a soldier, but every man was at the same time his own ploughman, and his own artificer. In the more improved states of society, when the division of employment has made the business of the plough, and the business of providing the second necessaries of human life, the entire and separate occupations of distinct classes of the community, there may be fewer soldiers than before, but these soldiers will compose a greater body of military strength. Though in a nation of mere husbandmen, then, one-fifth of the whole population could be called out to an occasional campaign; we are not to infer that such a state of society is the most favourable to raising an effective force for the purposes of war. In a civilized country, though only one-twentieth or one-thirtieth of the population were maintained in the capacity of soldiers, they would probably possess a far greater degree of military strength. The one case gives us the example of a militia; the other gives us the example of a standing army. In the latter case, there are fewer engaged in the business of war, but according to the principle of the division of employment, their labour should be far more effective; and accordingly, says Dr Smith, the history of all ages bears testimony to the irresistable superiority which a well regulated standing army has over a militia. In a civilized country, you will not raise a greater number

of soldiers than in a nation of husbandmen; but what is more to our purpose, you are able to raise, even according to Dr Smith's own principles, a greater quantity of military strength.

Before the more refined manufactures were introduced into Europe, the great-landed proprietors, spent the surplus produce of their estates in the maintenance of a tribe of military retainers. They used to take the field with their dependants, and serve the crown at their own expence. But a taste for luxury has been introduced, and these military retainers have given place to an immesse train of manufacturers and artists. Still, however, these landed proprietors can be made to reverse this process, and to make as great contributions as ever to the military strength of the country. The operation of a tax can reduce them to the stile and simplicity of their fore-fathers. It can withdraw the disposable population from manufacturing to military employments. It can combine the energy of all the landed proprietors in the country, and raise an army, which, with the improvements of modern war, would surpass, in extent and efficiency together, any that has ever been recorded in the history of the world.

We are not recommending such a total abandonment of the luxuries of human life. We only say, that the military preparations of every country should be commensurate to its dangers; and that it is disgraceful to keep back the disposable population from the army, only that they may be employed in pro-

viding us with a set of gaudy and effeminate indulgences. It may not be necessary to abandon all, though it is necessary to abandon a part of them. A sufficient army may be had, yet the expence of such an army may still leave us the power of purchasing many luxuries. A great addition may be made to our military establishment, yet it may still leave a great number of the disposable population in their old employments. The work of retrenchment may be carried so far as to make over a sufficient fund to the service of government; and yet leave to our original proprietors a thousand of the comforts and accommodations of civilized society.

If ever there is a call upon a country to surrender its luxuries, it is at that moment when a mighty power rises in the world, which threatens to restrain the progress of humanity, and extinguish the light and liberty of our species. It is at that moment, when the world around us lies at the feet of a furious and malignant despotism; when the brutality of force lords it over the greater part of civilized society, and the spirit of unprincipled ambition walks abroad to scatter its cruelties amongst the habitations of the innocent. In this general wreck of things, is there a country in the world that still remains the only secure asylum of worth and liberty? Are there a people who can yet stand to the tyrant in the lofty attitude of intrepidity and defiance; and can still hold out a lesson and an example to his enslaved and persecuted countries? To maintain such a proud

distinction every effort must be made, and every sacrifice submitted to; a high-toned patriotism must spread itself among all ranks of the community; they must, if necessary, surrender all their luxuries to the service of the state, and call forth all the energy of their disposable population, that while the old empires around them are mouldering into fragments, they may save one secluded corner of the world from the misrule of a restless and unprincipled ambition.

CHAP. II.

THE CASE OF A COUNTRY WHICH CARRIES ON FOREIGN TRADE, BUT IS SUBSISTED BY ITS OWN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

THE preceding discussion applies to the case of a country secluded from all foreign intercourse, and maintaining, by the subsistence which it produces, a certain extent of disposable population, who operating upon the raw materials which the country affords them, convert them to some useful purpose, for the accommodation of man. One of the objects of that discussion, was to expose the impolicy of supporting a particular manufacture, on the idea of its possessing some inherent faculty of adding to the prosperity of the country. The wealth of those engaged in the manufacture resolves itself into the wealth of their employers. It consists in the maintenance which they receive from their customers; and when this maintenance

abandons them, it is not because it disappears from the face of the country, but because it is reserved by its original proprietors for another destination. The only wealth which a manufacturer contributes to the country, is his own productions. But the moment that his productions cease to be an object of request, they cease to be wealth; he must furnish something more agreeable to the taste of his employers, and to the circumstances of the country, or they will withdraw from him his subsistence; if he will not accommodate to the disposition of his employers, he must leave the country; the vigorous tendency to population will soon supply his place; a man will succeed him, who will be as well paid and subsisted by his employers as himself; he will give them the return of his industry, but it will be industry employed in another direction.

If we could succeed in proving that foreign trade is upheld like home manufactures, by an antecedent ability which exists in the country, it would be attended with the overthrow of a thousand prejudices. By some unaccountable perverseness of conception it is supposed, that every commercial country depends for its prosperity on the custom of its neighbours; and that its very existence is linked with its foreign connections. It is apprehended that the stoppage of foreign intercourse, would be attended with something far more dreadful and alarming, than the loss of cer-

tain enjoyments, which the productions of other countries afford; that an immense source of wealth would disappear from the nation; that the land would be filled with bankruptcy and ruin; that the public finances would run into disorder; and that, unable as we were to maintain our naval and military establishments, we would fall a helpless and unresisting sacrifice to the power of an invader. Happy, if I can succeed in demonstrating, that these gloomy anticipations are unfounded, and by pursuing the destruction of foreign trade into all its consequences, can satisfy my attentive reader, that the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of certain enjoyments, or rather the exchange of one set of enjoyments for another; that the stamina of the country remain entire for all the purposes of defence and security, and political independence.

Let me postpone for the present the consideration of profit and capital. I reserve this consideration to another chapter, and shall attempt to estimate the precise effect which it ought to have in modifying our conclusions. I shall also keep out of sight, for the present, the importation of agricultural produce from other countries.

A landed proprietor, when he conceives a liking for an article of home manufacture, parts with so much of the surplus produce of his estate in the purchase of that article, and in the price which he thus pays for it, he gives maintenance to all

the workmen who are employed in preparing it. But he may also conceive a liking for an article of foreign manufacture, and the first expedient that may suggest itself for procuring that article, may be to imitate the former process; he may give over so much of the surplus produce of his estate in purchasing the foreign commodity, and in the price which he thus pays for it, he may give maintenance to the workmen of other countries.

It is evident, that if a foreign trade of this kind were instituted, it would have the effect of depressing the population of a country below the level of its agricultural produce. The population of a country is regulated, not by the quantity of food that is produced, but by the quantity of food that is consumed in it. But when part of this food is exported, it is withdrawn from the maintenance of our own population, and expended on the maintenance of a population abroad, who yield a return to the landed proprietor in the productions of their industry.

But there is one powerful cause which disposes our landed proprietor to keep his surplus produce at home, and to expend the whole of it on the maintenance of our own manufacturers. The same quantity of food which purchases the industry of ten labourers at home, will, *after it is sent abroad*, purchase the industry of ten labourers in another country. If, to get the foreign commodity then, there was nothing more to do, than to give main-

tenance to the ten labourers employed in producing it, the landed proprietor would purchase their industry on the same terms with the industry of his own countrymen, and he would not scruple for a moment to send his surplus produce abroad when ever it went to purchase an enjoyment more agreeable to his taste than any of the manufactured commodoties of his own country. But the truth is, that to get the foreign commodity, he must do a great deal more than maintain the ten labourers employed in producing it. He must also maintain the labourers employed in the work of conveyance, in the business of carrying the agricultural produce from his estate to a foreign country; and in the business of carrying the commodity which he gets in return, from the foreign country, and bringing it to his own door. This creates a very important addition to the expence of the foreign commodity. He has both to maintain the labourers employed in producing it, and the labourers employed in the business of conveyance; he has to expend the maintenance of twelve, or perhaps fifteen labourers, in the purchase of an article, the manufacture, of which only took up the industry of ten labourers.

This is a very heavy expence to which the local disadvantage of his situation exposes him; and he will doubtless be glad to recur to any expedient for alleviating it. Agricultural produce is among the most bulky and uncarriageable of all

articles; could he contrive to send something else, the transportation of which would be easier and less expensive? Could he contrive to send a more carriageable substitute; it would be a considerable saving, and enable him to purchase his foreign luxuries at much less expence. The expedient is a very obvious one, and it has been resorted to by all the trading countries of the world. Instead of sending agricultural produce to another country, for the purchase of its luxuries, send manufactured commodities. Instead of transporting such a bulky article, as the maintenance of labourers to a distance, maintain labourers at home, and send over their work as an equivalent. This is often a prodigious saving in the expence and labour of conveyance. In the finer manufactures, a piece of work will often be reduced to many hundred times less weight and compass, than the food that has gone to the maintenance of the labourers during the time they have been employed in it. Instead of sending food, then, send a manufactured commodity. What is true of you, may be true of the landed proprietors in other countries. You have a desire for articles of foreign manufacture; they may have a desire for the manufactured articles of your country. Instead of going then through the burdensome process of sending abroad such an unwieldy article as the produce of your land, employ this produce in the maintenance of those who work up articles for exportation, and

let these articles be sent abroad to purchase the luxuries you are in quest of.

In this way it has in general been found much more convenient, to retain the agricultural produce for the subsistence of those who manufacture our exported articles, than to export agricultural produce directly. A manufacturer produces a piece of work as an equivalent for his subsistence. This piece of work can be exported at less expence, than the subsistence, or, in other words, the proprietor of subsistence, by purchasing a foreign commodity through the medium of a manufactured article, can purchase it cheaper, can procure a greater value in return, than by the direct exportation of his agricultural produce.

The manufacturer of an exported article may be therefore considered, like the manufacturer for home consumption, as the servant of our inland consumers, supported by their wealth, and labouring for their gratification. The only difference is, that the one administers directly to the enjoyment of his employers; the other administers to his enjoyment circuitously. Instead of giving him his work as an equivalent for his maintenance, he gives him what that work can purchase in foreign countries. His employer comes to him and says, I do not want the productions of your manufacture, but export them, and fetch me the luxuries which I want from foreign countries; and in the price which I will pay for the imported commodities,

you shall receive the full reward and encouragement of your industry

This is the true statement of the matter, but the division of employment serves to disguise the real steps of the procedure, and to put out of sight the dependence which subsists between the inland consumer and the manufacturer of our exported commodities. The hard ware of England is exported to Portugal, and wine is imported from that country. If, when the manufacturer had delivered his hardware in Portugal, he could receive nothing but wine as payment, he would have immediately seen his dependence on the purchasers of wine in this country. He would have immediately seen, that by labouring for wine he had laboured in vain, if the purchasers of that article at home chose to dispense with the consumption of it. What is wine to him, if he can get nothing else in return for it; if those who supplied him and his labourers with their maintenance have chosen to abandon the use of it? Instead of purchasing wine with his hardware, he would try to purchase something else more palatable to the inland consumers. If nothing else could be got, the manufacture of hardware would in all likelihood be instantly deserted; and all those who laboured in it would try to earn their subsistence by another service, would accommodate to this new revolution in the taste or demand of the landed proprietors.

If the manufacturer of hardware had individually carried on the whole process of working up his commodity, of exporting it to Portugal, of getting a return in wine, or lemons, or oranges, or any thing else that he conceived to be in request among the home consumers; of importing these luxuries into this country, and selling them out to those who could give him a price for them, he would instantly come to acknowledge, that it was the demand of our inland consumers which gave motion to every step of this lengthened operation, and that it was their wealth which gave maintenance and direction to his industry. If the proprietor of subsistence had gone directly to the hardware manufacturer, and entered into an agreement with him, to supply his labourers with maintenance, and himself with a profit, on condition of his working up and exporting articles for the purchase of wine; it would be instantly acknowleged, that it was the wealth of the landed proprietor which set the industry of our manufacturers in motion, that it was his demand for wine which gave this direction to their industry, and that if he chose to dispense with wine, their industry would be annihilated; they would be thrown out of employment; to earn the subsistence which they formerly received from his hands, they must accommodate to this new revolution in the will of their employer, they must administer some new service to him,

Now, this process is disguised, and the real connection which subsists between the hardware manufacturer and the purchaser of wine is never attended to. The purchaser of wine appears to have to do only with the proprietors of wine in Portugal, and the hardware manufacturer appears to have to do only with his customers abroad. It is the wealth of these foreign customers that appears to give motion to his industry, and maintenance to his numerous train of artificers. They on this account usurp the name and the consideration of an independent interest. They live, it is supposed, not by the country, but by foreign trade; all their wealth and consequence are an addition, it is supposed, to the original wealth and resources of the country. They are not conceived to be like the home manufacturers, convertible at the pleasure and caprice of inland consumers. Their wealth cannot be resolved into any antecedent ability that existed in the country. It is an original and not a derived wealth, and must be regarded as superinduced upon the previous wealth and ability of the nation.

It is in this way that foreign trade has assumed a credit and a distinction which it never was entitled to, that it has misled the policy of legislators, that it has turned their attention from the solid strength and resources of the country; and instead of exhibiting those general and expanding views which become the legislators of a great em-

pire, they have drivelled for centuries in all the narrowness of mercantile conceptions.

If one individual had superintended the whole series of transactions between the manufacture of the exported commodity, and the sale of the commodity that is imported in return for it, the dependence between the home-consumer and the manufacturer of our exports would have been instantly felt and acknowledged. But the fact is otherwise. Each single transaction is the separate employment of different sets of labourers, and is under the distinct superintendence of different individuals. This has given a complexity to the whole business, which disguises the real steps of the procedure from the eye of an inattentive observer. The manufacturer of the exported article disposes of it to the merchant exporter, and he therefore says, that it is the wealth of the merchant exporter which maintains me. The merchant exporter disposes of it to his foreign customers, and he says, that it is the wealth of my foreign customers which gives me a return for my employment. The merchant importer procures an article of consumption from the same foreign country, but in all probability from a different set of men from those who purchased the exports of this country. The connection between the different parts of what I just now represented as one process, seems now to be altogether interrupted. I come now, it is supposed, to a totally different affair. The merchant import-

er supplies the inland consumer, and is supported no doubt by his wealth. But what has the inland consumer to do, it may be said, with the people employed in the manufacture and conveyance of our exports? His wealth is not expended upon them. It is expended upon the merchant importer, and through him upon the people abroad who are employed in preparing the imported article of consumption. Now here lies the bond of connection, and it establishes an indissoluble tie between the inland consumer and the people employed in the manufacture of our exported articles. The merchant exporter is the creditor of his foreign customers. The merchant importer is the debtor of his foreign correspondents. A bill of exchange can make the debtors abroad liable to the creditors abroad, and the debtors at home liable to the creditors at home. The merchant importer becomes debtor to the merchant exporter, and he derives his ability to pay the merchant exporter from the wealth of the inland consumer. The inland consumer gives money to the merchant importer, or, in other words, he gives him the instrument of purchasing that produce and subsistence of which he is the proprietor; the money passes through the medium of the bill of exchange from the merchant importer to the merchant exporter; from the merchant exporter to the manufacturer of the exported article; from the manufacturer to the whole train of labourers in his employment. The labourers with this money purchase the necessaries of exist-

ence, and thus ultimately arrive at the wealth and property of our inland consumers as the return of their industry.

In this process, then, complex and circuitous as it may appear, we see the entire dependence even of that part of our labouring population, which is employed in foreign trade upon the proprietors of maintenance in the country. But it will perhaps render the argument more perspicuous and convincing, if I exclude for a moment the consideration of money, and suppose that the whole set of payments and conveyances is carried on by an actual transference of commodities. The farmer, then, after reserving a part of his agricultural produce for his own profit, and the maintenance of his servants, makes over the remainder as a rent to the landlord. The landlord makes over part of it to the merchant importer as the price of the article which he supplied him with. From the merchant importer it passes through the medium of a bill of exchange to the merchant-exporter; from the merchant-exporter to the manufacturer of exported goods as the price of these goods; and it is distributed by the manufacturer in the form of wages for the direct purpose of giving maintenance to his labourers. Now, there is nothing in the introduction of money to overthrow the essential steps of this process. The farmer, instead of agricultural produce, gives his landlord money, or, in other words, the right of taking up a certain

portion of agricultural produce on demand. The conveyance of the money transfers this right successively to the merchant importer, to the merchant exporter, to the manufacturer, and to the labourers who arrive ultimately at the wealth and produce of our inland proprietors as the return for their services. The money should give no additional obscurity to the procedure. Its function is not to alter the essential order of the steps, but to make each step more easy and practicable, and to save the labour of a burdensome and unnecessary conveyance.

Let us now suppose that the inland consumer chose to abandon the use of all imported luxuries. In what way can the manufacturer of the exported commodity obtain a return for his industry? not by a bill upon our inland proprietors from his customers abroad. Our proprietors are no longer liable. They do not buy any of the luxuries of foreign countries, and they do not owe a farthing to any foreign correspondent. They have withdrawn their wealth from the purchase of foreign articles altogether; and they have given this wealth another direction. They perhaps employ it on the purchase of home-manufactures, and it therefore goes to maintain a population that labours in the production of them. Or, they perhaps employ it in the payment of taxes, and it therefore goes to maintain a population that labours in the service of government. At all events,

the manufacturer of our exported commodities gets none of it, and if he perseveres in his old employment at all, he must get his return in a different way. Instead of a bill, in fact, from his foreign customers, he must get a direct return from them in maintenance to himself, and to his labourers. He can no longer purchase that maintenance as before, with the luxuries that were in the habit of being imported from the foreign country. These luxuries are no longer in demand, and the wealth that was formerly discharged upon the purchase of them, is now reserved by our inland proprietors for the maintenance of labourers, whom they have allured into other employments. The food of the country is all expended in the support of a different kind of industry, and the only way that the export-manufacturer can be encouraged to persevere in his employment, is by the importation, not of manufactured commodities, which no body will buy, but by the importation of agricultural produce, for the maintenance of himself and his labourers.

This, then, would be the effect of such a revolution, either in the taste or circumstances of the country, as would dispose our inland consumers to withdraw their ability from the purchase of foreign luxuries, and expend it on the purchase of other enjoyments. If the ability was now directed to the purchase of those enjoyments which are prepared within the country, there

would be instantly an extension of home-manufactures. If it was directed to the purchase of of defence, there would be instantly an extension of our military establishment. In either of these two cases, labourers would be easily allured from their old employments, and be made to take that new direction which the demand of the country impressed upon them In either of these two cases, they would carry along with them all the spare maintenance which existed in the country; and the manufacturer of our exports would find himself abandoned by his labourers, or at least, he would find himself abandoned by all that maintenance which formerly constituted the wages of his labourers

The only way then in which the manufacturer of the exported commodity can be enabled to persevere in his concern, is by the importation of agricultural produce from abroad, out of which he may give subsistence to his labourers. If the landed proprietors have chosen to expend all their wealth in the maintenance of a population to be employed in other purposes; then, the only way in which our export manufacturers can possibly proceed is, by grafting an additional number of labourers upon the natural population of the country. It can only be done by means of a redundant population, who must be supported by importation from abroad of the first necessaries of existence.

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cern: He abandons his labourers to the chance
of employment in another quarter: They seek
their subsistence where it can be found, and are
at last compelled to acknowledge their depen-
dence on the taste of our inland consumers.

We before observed, that in consequence of the heavy expence which attended the exportation of agricultural produce, it was in general found more convenient to retain it at home, and expend it on the maintenance of our own manu-

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fined within the limits of our country. These
may in some few cases compensate for the heavy
disadvantage of living in a country which has to
import subsistence from abroad, and induce the
manufacturer to persevere in his concern. This
will soon have the effect of grafting a redundant
population upon the country, and if they can con-
trive to earn a comfortable subsistence in virtue of
the food which is imported from abroad, it is

very well; it does not interfere with our object, which is to direct all the inherent ability and resources of the country to those purposes that are most subservient to our solid interest and security. So long as the redundant population can secure to themselves a comfortable subsistence by their industry, we can have no reasonable objection to their taking up their residence with us. All that we want is to have a full advantage of the natural population of the country, to command their services, to appropriate our own agricultural produce to the encouragement of that species of employment which we find most suited to our necessities; and let the additional population remain, if they find it for their advantage; or remove, if they find it for their loss.

The case of a country which has to import agricultural produce we reserve for a subsequent discussion. At present we suppose, that the food of the country is sufficient to subsist the whole of its population in whatever department of trading or manufacturing industry they may be employed. This is very true in most instances, and is generally the case in those countries where no manufacture of exported commodities exists, which can bear the expence of those high wages to its labourers, which would certainly ensue from its having to import the first necessaries of life.

It appears then, in this case, that all those who labour in the manufacture of our exported commodities, are as much under the controul of our inland

consumers, as those who labour in preparing articles for home consumption; and the same principles apply to both: *1st*, The taste of our inland consumers may change, and they may abandon the use of one foreign luxury for another. This may give a new direction to the industry of the people engaged in foreign trade, but in the long run, the whole amount of the consequence is a change of employment; for the ability lies with our inland consumers to give them the same maintenance as before. *2d*, A stoppage in the intercourse between two countries, may put an end to the exchange of commodities between them. This is precisely analagous to the case of the forcible termination of a home manufacture. The manufacture of exports is destroyed, not in consequence of any change in the taste of our inland consumers, but in consequence of a necessity which neither consumer nor manufacturer can controul. But here the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of the imported luxury. The price paid for the foreign luxury was discharged upon the export manufacturers, but a violent suspension of all intercourse between the two countries annihilates the manufacture, and at the same time it puts a stop to the importation of the luxury. The workmen are thrown out of their employment, but the ability remains in the hands of the inland consumer to give them the same maintenance in another employment. The whole

amount of the mischief to the consumer, is the loss of one enjoyment, and the substitution of another, which is perhaps less agreeable to him. To the discarded workmen, it is that temporary inconvenience which attends a change of employment. *3d*, A tax may compel our inland consumers to abandon the use of foreign luxuries. This throws out of their present employments all those export manufacturers who received the wages of their industry, in the price paid for imported commodities. But the ability to maintain them has not disappeared from the country. It is only transferred to another quarter. It is now in the hands of government, and can give them the same maintenance as before, in the new capacity of servants to the public. To them the whole amount of the mischief is a change of employment, and to the consumer, it is the exchange of luxury for protection and independence.

Foreign trade is as much under our controul as home manufactures. The existence of foreign trade is neither more nor less than an evidence of the extent of our disposable population. I have already shewn, that in addition to our subsistence and the supply of our more urgent necessities, we are furnished with an immense number of other enjoyments, by the industry of the disposable population operating upon the raw materials produced in the country. But it would appear that our disposable population can do more than this. Such

is the power of their industry, or such the extent of their numbers, that we can spare a great part of them tc procure for us, by their efforts, the productions of other countries. It is purely to the industry of part of the disposable population that we are indebted for these productions. If these productions are denied to us; if war has blocked up the communication with foreign countries; or, if the people of these countries refuse the offerings of our industry, refuse their commodities in return for our manufactured goods, it is doubtless a disappointment; we lose their commodities; we lose a set of enjoyments to which we have been accustomed for years; and to abandon them may require a struggle with the luxury of our dispositions. All that remains for us, is to withdraw our industry from a channel which is now interrupted, and direct it to other employments. The same extent of disposable population is supported as before. That part of it formerly employed in working for the commodities of other countries, can be made to contribute to our enjoyment in another shape. We may lose every article of luxury which foreign countries formerly supplied us with; but they will still leave us an existence, and such an existence as is worth the contending for.

The great end of production, is consumption; and the sole use of a manufacture lies in its contributing to the enjoyment of customers. The great end of exportation is importation; and the

sole use of foreign trade is to supply our inland consumers with foreign commodities. For every article exported from this country, there is a return of value in some shape or other. If it is an article of consumption, it can immediately be converted to the purposes of accommodation and enjoyment. If it is money, it is either employed to support the circulating medium, or reserved for a second exportation; and the return at last comes in the shape of an article of consumption. If it is a commodity which is not used in the country, it is exported to some third country, whence a return is at last made as before in the shape of an article of consumption. Those commodities which we receive in return for our exported goods, may be landed or not in one of our ports, as suits our convenience. Instead of landing them in one of our ports, we often make a direct transfer of them to that country from which we derive our articles of consumption; and it is then called a round about trade. But pursue the operations of foreign trade through all their varieties, you will always find that it consists in the exportation of our manufactured goods for the commodities of other countries, which commodities serve no other purpose than to be distributed among our inhabitants, to administer to their accommodations, and to add to the enjoyments of their existence. We except from this observation all that part of our trade which consists in

carrying on the exchange of commodities between two foreign countries. By our writers on political economy it is called the carrying trade; and is by them universally regarded as the least subservient to the wealth or commercial importance of the country.

It is quite in vain to say, that foreign trade does more than supply the country with articles of enjoyment, because it is the mean of bringing in gold and silver, and gold and silver have the never-failing property of enriching the country. Though every country of Europe, in consequence of what has been called a favourable balance of trade, were to pour in its gold and silver, no more of this gold and silver would be retained than was necessary to satisfy the demand of the country for plate, or to repair the deficiencies of the circulating medium. All the overplus would infallibly be exported, to the east, perhaps, where it would go to purchase the tea and muslins of India. In so far as the gold and silver went to supply the country with plate and ornamental furniture, they may be ranked among other commodities which serve the mere purposes of luxury, and the population that works manufactured articles for the purchase of these metals, may be looked upon in the light of servants working for the splendour and gratification of their employers. In as far as the gold and silver go to repair the deficiencies of the circulating medium, the

population that works for them must be considered in the light of servants working for an article of the most essential convenience to the country at large; but even this bears such a trifling proportion to the whole foreign trade of the country, that the industry of a few thousands of our population would be perfectly sufficient to work up commodities for the purchase of as much gold and silver as are necessary to keep up the circulating medium. In as far as the gold and silver are again exported for the purchase of foreign luxuries, it can be considered in no other light than as the exchange of one manufactured commodity for another. If a population is employed in working up manufactured commodities, for the purchase of the precious metals from Portugal, and these precious metals are immediately sent out to purchase the luxuries of India, what is this but saying, that a population is employed in working for the importation of these luxuries? The intervention of the gold and silver is of little consequence. It has only the effect of lengthening out the interval between the manufacture of the exported commodity, and the ultimate object of that manufacture, which is to get luxuries from India. It does not alter the essential character of the proceeding, but has only the effect of making it a more lengthened and circuitous operation.

The manufactured goods of this country are exported for the wine of Portugal. For this wine we are indebted to the industry of part of the disposable population. One part of them is employed in the capacity of manufacturers, in working up commodities for the payment of the wine; and another part of them in the capacity of sailors, for the purpose of carrying on the conveyance between the different countries. The first part belongs to the manufacturing interest; the second to the shipping interest of the country. We are disposed to look up to these two interests with veneration and gratitude, as two grand sources of national wealth and national consequence. In their prosperity we see the power and riches of the country; in their destruction we anticipate its poverty and its ruin. The prosperity of the wine trade, is neither more nor less than the indication of a previous ability existing in the country. It is an evidence of the great extent of our disposable population. It proves, that notwithstanding all the enjoyment we derive from the industry of our disposable population, operating upon the raw materials produced in the country, we can spare an additional number to work up commodities for exportation; to build ships for their conveyance; to carry them in these ships to the country for which they are destined; and bring back in return an article of consumption, which is spent in administering to

the luxury of their employers. This disposable population are paid for their services,—and by whom? by their customers; by the purchasers of the wine, who, in the price which they give for it, defray every expence that attended the whole process of its conveyance; renders subsistence to every labourer who concurred in bringing it to their door; support the whole disposable population that were employed in the numerous steps of the procedure; and pay all the tax which is imposed upon it by government on its arrival in the country. The whole, then, of this flourishing concern may be resolved to the ability of the customers. It can be traced to the redundant maintenance which was previously in their possession. It is not the origin, but the consequence, of wealth. The wine trade pours in nothing but its own article into the country. All that we stand indebted for to it, is the wine. I rejoice in it, not as a source of wealth, but as a flattering display of the extent of our agricultural produce. It may be destroyed by a change in the taste or fashion of the country; a temporary inconvenience would ensue; the disposable population employed in the trade would be compelled to take another direction, and government would lose the road by which it had been accustomed to arrive at part of the wealth of its subjects. But this disposable population would not be annihilated. The same maintenance which

rewarded their industry in one direction, would reward it in another. They would be as well supported as before, and after the embarrassment of a few months, you would find the same number reaping the same fruits of industry, and contributing a service to their employers, more suited to the taste or to the necessity of the times. Nor would the public revenue suffer by the change. What is the tax which the wine trade contributes to government? It forms part of the price which is paid by the customers. It may be considered as a portion of that maintenance which they parted with for the wine. It is still in reserve, to be contributed to government by another channel. Government does not lose the tax. It is only compelled to levy it on some new article of consumption. The wealth contributed by the country in the form of a wine-tax is not annihilated; it still remains with the original proprietors; and all that government has to do, is to devise some new path by which to arrive at it.

When the annihilation of the wine trade proceeds from a mere revolution in the taste of the country, there is nothing lost to the country at large. It is merely a substitution of one enjoyment for another; and to the whole mass of disposable population occupied in the different labours of the trade, it is merely a change of employment.

When the annihilation of the wine-trade proceeds from an interruption of the communication between the countries, there is an inconvenience, but it does not proceed from any poverty which this interruption has entailed upon the country. The purchasers are debarred from an acustomed channel of expenditure; they may be at a loss for a time how to accommodate their expenditure to this new change of circumstances; they will find a redundancy in their incomes, but a redundancy which will soon discharge itself on some new article of enjoyment. What was formerly destined for the purchase of wine, will be transferred to another purpose; the maintenance which formerly supported that part of the disposable population which was employed in the wine trade, cannot lie idle. It will support the same number equally well in another capacity, and after a momentary clamour of distress, the country will find itself in the same situation as before, supporting the same extent of disposable population, and diffusing the same subsistence, accommodation, and comfort, among all the individuals of the community.

The only ultimate evil that ensues from this forcible termination of the wine trade is, that we lose the wine, and though we get another enjoyment in its place, it may not be an enjoyment on which the purchasers set so high a value as on the one they have lost. In the former case, the termination was voluntary; the wine trade was des-

troyed because the country chose to abandon it, and withdraw its disposable population from one employment to another, for the productions of which it had a higher relish. The present case is precisely analogous to our second example of a change of employment in home manufactures.

Flax is imported from the north of Europe into Great Britain, where it is manufactured into linen, and exported in great quantities to America and the West Indies. If all communication between this country and the north of Europe was completely interrupted, it would prevent our supplies of flax, and throw many of our linen manufacturers for a time out of their employment. The employment of many of our manufacturers would be necessarily put an end to, because they could obtain no further supplies of the raw material. The habit of attending more to the producer than to the consumer, would have the effect of creating an alarm in the country about the fate of our discarded manufacturers. Let it be considered, that it is not the wealth of foreign countries which supports these manufacturers. It is the ability of our inland consumer, and the price which he pays for imported luxuries. They appear to labour in the service of foreign customers, and to be supported by their wealth, when in fact they are labouring for the gratification of proprietors at home. The ability remains with these proprietors to give them the same maintenance in another employment. They

will set them to manufacture other commodities for the purchase of our luxuries, or they will abandon the use of these luxuries altogether, and discharge their redundant maintenance on the discarded labourers, in the capacity of working up manufactures for home consumption. At all events, their employment will soon accommodate to the new situation of affairs The same maintenance exists in the country, and the same extent of disposable population will infallibly be supported.

When the suspension of foreign trade throws a number of manufacturers out of employment, their security is, that the redundant wealth of our proprietors will take some new direction, and that in the new channels of expenditure that may be devised, there will be an immediate call upon the industry of the discarded workmen. The man who institutes a manufacture which takes in the discarded workmen, is hailed as a public benefactor. Let the service of government then be made to stand in the place of this manufacture. Let government avail itself of the decay or annihilation of foreign trade, and appropriate to itself all that wealth which was discharged on the purchase of foreign luxuries. In this way, it can give an immediate direction to the expenditure of all this wealth, and hold out a kindly refuge to all the workmen who have been discarded from their former employments. It can force our proprietors to surrender the whole price of these foreign luxuries

in the form of a tax, or, in other words, to spend what before went to purchase foreign commodities in the purchase of defence and security. In this way it can save the discarded workmen all their misery, and suspense, and embarrassment, for it can hold out an immediate opening to their industry in the new employment of servants to the state. It can make effectual provision against the dangers of the country, and by those very measures which tend to obviate all that misery and mischief which are supposed to ensue from the annihilation of commerce.

The tax which compels us to economise in the use of home manufactures, will also compel us to economise in the use of foreign luxuries. We may conceive the tax to be carried to such an extent as to diminish the wine trade, for example, or even put an end to it. We may retrench this article from our establishments altogether, and surrender the whole price to the service of government. No man, who is not grossly bewildered indeed by the infatuation of mercantile prejudices, will deny that this is a real and effectual addition to the public revenue. Will you say that the country lives by its commerce, and that by this mistaken parsimony of individuals, a valuable branch of commerce would be annihilated? Valuable; and in what way? Is it because it supports an immense train of manufacturers? It is not the trade which supports them. There is no creative, no inherent virtue in

the trade, to assure support or subsistence to a single individual. All the support which they get is from the price paid by the consumers, or, in other words, from the maintenance previously existing in the country. Do you say that the trade is valuable, because it affords a productive tax to the public revenue? This tax may also be referred to the same source, to the previous wealth and ability residing in the country. It only forms a fraction of the whole price. It is no kindness to government to prolong the existence of the trade. It is only allowing a part, when it may receive the whole. It is no kindness even to the people employed in it. They will be equally well supported in another employment. Instead of being engaged in the service of individuals, they will be engaged in the service of the state. The maintenance which they formerly received from their customers is now tranferred to government, but from the hands of government it supports the same extent of disposable population as from the hands of private individuals. A number equal to all the discarded workmen engaged in the wine trade can be taken into the service of government, and be equally well supported, but in another capacity, in the capacity of soldiers, to add to our military establishment; or in the capacity of tradesmen and manufacturers, to supply our forces with armour and equipments.

In this decay or annihilation of trade, it is evident that the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of certain enjoyments, the loss of those productions which the annihilated manufacture that purchased the foreign commodity contributed to the accommodation of the country. The maintenance which formerly supported them still exists in the country, to support them as well as before in another employment. This maintenance, in consequence of the tax which has ruined their manufacture, is now in the hands of government; and from its hands it will still be administered to them in the new capacity of servants to the public. In estimating the extent of the mischief sustained, it is even not fair to reduce it to the loss of an enjoyment. It is rather the substitution of one enjoyment for another. This new distribution of the disposable population is not without its advantages. That part of it which is thus withdrawn from administering to the luxuries of the country is not idle; it still labours for our service, and in the tax which we have contributed to the necessities of the public, we have only exchanged our enjoyments of tea and sugar and wine, for the still more valuable enjoyments of tranquillity, and protection, and independence.

The greater number of our taxes is levied upon the country in the form of a tax upon commodities. The whole price paid by the consumer is distributed into two parts. One part of it goes to

the maintenance of that disposable population that is employed in procuring us the commodity; the other part, which constitutes the tax, goes to the maintenance of that disposable population that is employed in the service of the state. It is evident, that the productiveness of such a tax as this cannot be extended beyond a certain limit. Every addition made by government to the tax upon any article, has the effect of restraining the consumption of that article; but in time the diminished consumption will counterbalance the increased tax; and every future addition imposed by government, will only have the effect of diminishing the whole amount of the revenue. When government arrives at this limit, it infers, that all expectation of additional supplies from that quarter is at an end; that the resources of the state in that department of wealth are exhausted, and that it must now recur to other commodities. But I say, that the resources of the state in that department of wealth are not nearly exhausted. Instead of deriving only a part of that price which is paid for the commodity, it may secure the whole by means of a direct assessment; the manufacture will be annihilated, and the whole disposable population employed in it will be transferred to the service of government.

The annihilation of foreign trade is apprehended by many to be the forerunner of some great derangement in the affairs and prosperity of the na-

tion. Let them remember, that this trade is set in motion by the demand of the people in the country, for certain articles of convenience and luxury. To pay for these articles we export manufactured goods; we employ a part of our disposable population in working up commodities; we employ another part in the conveyance of these commodities; the value is returned in some foreign luxury, and in the price paid by the consumer, we see the wealth of a great country employed in maintaining an immense train of its population, for the purpose of adding to its accommodations and enjoyments. If this foreign trade is annihilated, the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of these enjoyments. If it is annihilated by the voluntary desertion of the consumers, it is the exchange of one enjoyment for another more suitable to their taste and dispositions. If it is annihilated by the stoppage of foreign intercourse, it is the substitution of one enjoyment for another, which they would have preferred, but are now forcibly precluded from. If it is annihilated by the imposition of a tax equal to the whole price of these enjoyments, it is commuting the private luxury of individuals for the power of the nation. The population employed in carrying on the foreign trade may suffer in some individual instances a little temporary inconvenience and distress. The change of habit from one species of industry to another, must in some cases be attended with

difficulty; but we except from this observation the last specified cause for the destruction of foreign trade; for the discarded workmen, who are taken into the service of government, may be as well paid and as well subsisted as before, from the first moment of their assuming the new capacity of soldiers.

It may be asked, who are the possessors of this original and unperishable wealth? Who are those consumers who give animation, prosperity, and extent, to our trade and manufactures? and whose ability would uphold the country, amid the ruin and overthrow of these subordinate interests? In a society like ours, where there is such a complexity of interests and professions, and where wealth may be met with in every department, it may be difficult, some think, to distinguish between the original and the derived wealth; between the consumers, and those whom the consumers employ and support; between the purchaser, who can command the industry of others, and those to whom his wealth administers subsistence. It may be said, that in this country all are consumers, and all are purchasers; that there is a mutual dependence; that the innovations of rash and unbridled theory must be resisted; that the present style and system of society must be maintained, and thus by a train of plausible sentences, and indistinct conceptions, I tremble to think, that the infatuation which now encompasses us, may be persevered in,

and that the enemy may find us in the most woeful and infatuated security.

The attentive consideration of one single circumstance should be sufficient to dissipate the obscurity, which this general kind of language is calculated to throw over a train of reasoning, which appears to me most simple and irresistible. The proprietors of the necessaries of life compose the original and independent interest. The proprietors of luxuries* compose the subordinate, and derived interest of the country. A landed proprietor is an example of the former. A wine-merchant is an example of the latter. A wine merchant has a revenue, because his employers *choose* to purchase wine. In return for the wine which they buy from him, they make over to him so much of the necessaries of existence, or, which is

* I all along understand by the term *luxury*, every enjoyment which is above the general standard of enjoyment among the peasantry: A labourer must have a house; and the men who build it for him belong to the second division of the population. A man of rank must have a house, too, but, from the superior extent and accommodation of his house, he employs a greater number of persons in building it than the peasant does. A house is one of the second necessaries, but not such a house as is built to accommodate the wealthy proprietor; all the additional expence, beyond what is sufficient to build him such a house as the labourer lives in, is laid out on the purchase of luxury; and all the additional labourers, beyond what are sufficient to build him such a house, belong to the disposable population of the country.

the same thing, they make over to him so much money, and give him the power of lifting these necessaries at pleasure. The money which he thus receives from the profits of his employment, may enable him to purchase more of the necessaries of life, than are sufficient to make up to him the maintenance of a labourer. In addition to the necessaries which he himself uses, he may be able to purchase necessaries for the maintenance of others; or in other words, he may be able, as well as the landed proprietor, to command the services of so many of the disposable population. But let it be recollected, that all this ability is derived from the profits of his employment; that it forms part of the price which the consumer of wine paid for his article, that he enjoys a revenue only because the consumer *chooses* to drink wine; and that if they *choose* to abandon it, his revenue is annihilated. But the case is different with the landed proprietor. He is able to command the services of others, not because people have chosen to be his customers, but because they are obliged to be so. His article cannot be dispensed with. It is not in the power of customers to abandon him, however much they may be disposed to do so. The use of his article is not a matter of choice, but a matter of necessity. I can abandon the use of wine, but I cannot extinguish my appetite for food.

It is this circumstance which constitutes the difference, in point of stability, between the wealth of a landed proprietor, and the wealth of a merchant or manufacturer. I can often dispense with the produce of the latter; the former is essential to my subsistence, and cannot be retrenched from my expenditure. If there is a population to eat up the agricultural produce of a country, that produce must command the industry of the people, and direct them to any services which the proprietor of subsistence chooses to demand from them. But the case is different with the merchant or manufacturer, provided that they do not deal in the second necessaries of existence. I can desert them, and leave them to poverty, if they choose to persist in their old employments. They are my servants, and if they do not accomodate to my call, I can do with them as I would do with the servants of my household, I can dismiss them. A servant may refuse you, if you order him to do something which does not belong to his usual department. You can immediately chastise his impertinence by dismissing him; you can enlist another in his place, and leave him to exclusion and to beggary. The country can exert precisely the same controul over its tradesmen and manufacturers. They labour for the service of the country, for the enjoyment of their customers. If the country chooses to put them to a different service, if it calls upon them

to fight its battles, instead of administering articles of luxury for its consumption, they must obey, if they wish to escape starvation. There is no gloom in the picture. They can now maintain their families in comfort, and let us rejoice in it, as an evidence of the wealth and resources of the country. It proves how well the country can pay its servants in the employment of providing them with luxuries, and if this employment is abandoned, the country can pay them as well in the new employment of fighting for their security. Let their families by all means be maintained in the same comfort as before; let the wages of a soldier be a full equivalent for the wages of a labourer in any other department of industry; that our army, instead of being composed of the scum and refuse of the people, may contain in it the heart and substance of our most valuable population.

The manufacturer of an exported article lies at the mercy of those who subsist his servants and artificers. His industry is set in motion to subserve the luxury of the proprietors of the necessaries of life. It is their demand for some foreign luxury which keeps him agoing, and it is the price which they pay for the exported luxury, that upholds and continues his employment. If no such luxury is imported, how can he obtain his return? not by a draught upon our inland proprietors; not in the maintenance which they give him, for they are not indebted to him. They discharge none of

their wealth upon imported luxuries. They discharge it upon other enjoyments. Their subsistence is all expended on the people who administer these enjoyments. The manufacturer must therefore get the subsistence of his labourers from abroad. He must be at the expence of importing the bulkiest of all articles, the provisions of his workmen. He works to a disadvantage, and the people of other countries can in general undersell him. He cannot continue his employment. He must dismiss his labourers; they will begin to see their dependence upon the inland consumer, and be glad to accommodate to his will. If his demand has changed from wine, for example, to defence, they will be glad to serve him in this new capacity; and from the ruin of foreign trade, as well as from the ruin of home manufactures, we can collect the means of adding to the military strength of the country.

I confined myself to wine and hardware, as a particular illustration of the general doctrine, that even the manufacturers of exported articles are dependent upon our inland consumers; that the sole end and advantage of their industry is the enjoyment of these consumers; and if the consumers choose to dispense with this enjoyment, that the ability remains with them, to employ the whole train of discarded manufacturers in a manner more suited to their taste and necessities. The ruin of their former employment involves in it no other

mischief, than the loss of an enjoyment, the diminution of our luxuries. If there is no agricultural produce imported, it proves that the agricultural produce of the country is sufficient to maintain all the people employed in working up the exported manufactures; it proves that their industry is supported by the native and original wealth of the country. The only difference between them and our manufacturers for home consumption, is, that, their commodity, instead of obtaining its return directly, obtains it circuitously. It is not wrought for the immediate use of our inland consumer, but it is wrought for purchasing what our consumer converts into his use. It is his accommodation which gives rise to the whole process. It is his wealth which supports the train of labourers employed in conducting it. Let him choose to dispense with the imported article, and he annihilates their employment; but the wealth which maintained the employment remains with him, and it can maintain the same population as before, but in another species of industry. Their interest is not the question; for, upon the whole, they have precisely the same return from their employers, for one species of industry as for another. The question resolves itself entirely into the taste and will of the consumer. If he has a greater taste for the pleasures of independence, than the pleasures of luxury; let him retrench the luxury from his

establishment; let him acquiesce with chearfulness in the tax by which government appropriates to itself the price of this luxury; and, instead of feeling that he is impoverished by the weight of its impositions, let him feel that he is distributing his wealth in the manner which is most suited to give felicity to his existence.

The manufacturers of our exported articles derive their subsistence ultimately from the wealth of our inland consumers. The return for the exported article is an article of consumption. This article of consumption is bought in the country, and the price paid for it, is the moving principle of our foreign trade. The whole of this foreign trade is upheld by the demand of inland consumers. This foreign trade is a very extensive concern, and the population employed in it forms a very numerous class of his majesty's subjects. This population, say some, is supported by foreign trade, and if foreign trade is annihilated, the ruin and poverty of all employed in it must ensue. If foreign trade is annihilated, I perceive not the ruin and poverty of those employed in it, but the loss of certain articles of enjoyment, with which it was the object of foreign trade to supply the country. The wealth expended on the purchase of these articles remains in the country. The subsistence which was raised for the labourer in our foreign trade still remains. It can maintain him as well

as before. It can subsist his tailor, his shoemaker, his mason. It can purchase for him the same quantity of all the necessaries and conveniencies of life. It can do every thing for him which it did before. The same population can be as well supported in another species of industry. Their industry can be directed to another object; and if that object is security against invasion, the whole amount of the change is independence for luxury.

If the nation can want wine, it can extend its military establishment by all the population employed in working for the purchase of it. If it can want sugar, it can extend its military establishment by all the population employed in working for its purchase and conveyance. If it can want an article of home manufactures, it can extend its military establishment by all the population employed in the fabrication of that article. If it cannot dispense with the use of them altogether, still it may retrench to such a degree as to make the most important accessions to the military defence of the country. If it can retrench a third part from its consumption of tea, sugar, wine, clothes, and household furniture, it can withdraw one-third of the population employed in providing these respective articles, and by giving away the price of these retrenchments in the form of a tax, it can make them over to the service of government.

The inland consumer may be forced to dispense with the use of imported luxuries, because the price which he formerly paid for them is now given in the form of a tax to government. This tax may be conceived to be either paid in agricultural produce, or, which amounts to the same thing, in money, which entitles the holder to take up the agricultural produce on demand. Government is immediately invested with the power of maintaining as many labourers as were formerly maintained by this agricultural produce from the hands of private individuals. It can allure the manufacturing labourers into its service. If it finds it necessary, it can hold out to them a higher wage than they receive from their present employments. At all events, they will get a population to enlist into their service, and eat up all that agricultural produce which formerly went to the maintenance of tradesmen and manufacturers. In what situation does this leave the export manufacturer? It in all probability subjects him to a disadvantage which will force him to give up the concern. He can no longer pay his labourers as before. He can no longer obtain payment for his exported goods by a bill of exchange on the merchant-importer, for the tax has forced our inland consumer to abandon the use of imported articles. He can no longer subsist his labourers out of the agricultural produce of the country; for this is already engrossed by go-

vernment, and expended on the maintenance of that population which the tax has enabled government to allure into its service. The only way then, in which the manufacturing labourers can be maintained, is by the importation of agricultural produce, by the importation of a very uncarriageable article, where the expence of conveyance imposes such an addition upon the expence of his whole manufacture, as will expose him to be undersold and outrivalled by the manufacturers of other countries. In most instances, it is in vain to struggle with such a disadvantage. It is altogether impossible to occupy a foreign market to any great extent, with such a burden to sustain as the burden of transporting from other countries the subsistence of your labourers. He must give up; he must dismiss his labourers. This will appear to the eye of mercantile prejudice to be a tremendous necessity. It is neither more nor less than a change of employment. Labourers have been dismissed from the walks of manufacturing industry, and may be taken into the service of government, and, instead of working as before for the purchase of foreign luxuries, they may be as well paid in working for the independence and security of the nation.

There is one way indeed in which these labourers may, without changing their employment, be, to all intents and purposes, working in the ser-

vice of government. The tax which forces our inland consumers to dispense with imported luxuries, may be expended by government, not in extending our own military force; but in subsidising the troops of other countries; not in the direct maintenance of a population at home; but in the maintenance of a population abroad, who fight our battles and execute the measures of our policy. These subsidies are discharged sometimes by the actual remittance of specie, which comes into the country as a return for our exported articles, and sometimes by bills of exchange. A bill of exchange can make our foreign customers liable to the governments abroad for the amount of our subsidy, and can make our government liable to the merchant exporter. The merchant exporter, instead of receiving payment as before from the merchant importer, and through him from the inland consumer, now receives it from the hands of government; and in passing from its hands to the manufacturer and his labourer, we see that these last are working, not as before for the luxury of inland proprietors, but are now virtually in the service and under the controul of government.

But if the thing wanted is the extension of our military establishment at home, then these labourers must abandon their employment and enlist into the service of government. If any manufacture can bear the expence of importing sub-

sistence, it will take a higher wage to allure its labourers, and it may stand this competition for men. The great majority, however, must yield to the resistless competition of government, armed as it is with the wealth of its subjects, and with the produce of those immense taxations which the patriotism of an enlightened people can never refuse in the hour of danger and necessity.

But there are some branches of foreign trade which are not subservient to the private luxury and accommodation of individuals. The navy of this country is supplied in some of its necessary materials by importation from abroad, and to annihilate foreign trade, might be to endanger the existence of one of our great national bulwarks. This country abounds in political reasoners, and one of the favourite maxims is, that we must never let down the foreign trade, for this would be to surrender the empire of the seas. But it is not foreign trade in general which enables us to command the materials of a navy. It is only that part of the foreign trade which is particularly and exclusively directed to this object. We pay for these materials, by manufactured goods exported from the country. To work up and convey these goods, is the employment of part of our disposable population. And it is purely to the efforts of this part of our population that we are

indebted for our naval supplies. What credit can be ascribed to any other branch of our trading or manufacturing industry? What credit can be given to that immense train of disposable population employed in administering to the luxury of individuals? The effect of their exertions, is limited to providing us with this luxury, and every article imported into the country for the construction and the equipment of a navy, is due entirely and exclusively to another branch of our disposable population. The destruction of that part of the foreign trade which is subservient to our luxuries and enjoyments, can have no effect in impairing that other branch of our foreign trade, which is totally unconnected with it, and which has for its object the maintenance of our navy, in stores and materials. The dismissal of a great part of our disposable population from the employment of providing us with articles of private consumption, can have no effect on that other part of our disposable population whom we employ in the established channel of working for the supply and maintenance of our navy. If the country chooses to dispense with one enjoyment, and persevere in another, it annihilates the first branch of our foreign trade; but, how, in the name of wonder, can it affect the existence or the prosperity of the second? If the country chooses to abandon all its luxuries and persevere in contributing

its wonted support to the public necessities, it may annihilate the greater part of our foreign trade; but how can it affect the existence or prosperity of that remaining part which is set in motion by government?

The annihilation of one branch of foreign trade, is generally followed by the creation or the extension of some others. The population, though thrown out of employment, are not thrown out of subsistence. The food and commodities which gave motion to their industry in one direction, are still produced in the country, and it is ridiculous to suppose that this food will lie idle or be suffered to perish, while a population exists to consume it. The food will be distributed as before; only it gives motion to their industry in another direction; it forces the discarded population into other employments, and the annihilation of their branch of foreign trade, so far from involving in it the downfall or decay of any other, has the effect of giving additional extent to some other species of industry.

The annihilation of that foreign trade which administers to the luxuries of the country, must give us the command of an immense population, whom we can transfer to other employments. So far from impairing that trade which furnishes our naval supplies, it enables us to extend it. The population whom we have discarded from our

service, we can make over to the service of government; and the industry which was formerly spent in providing for our enjoyments, can now give an entire and undivided effort to the great work of providing stores and materials for the public service of the country. The population that now works for our wine, our sugar, and our tea, can be made to work for our hemp, our flax, our wood, and our iron; and from the ruins of a great part of our foreign trade, we can collect the means of adding to the naval resources of the country.

A strange argument, indeed, for persevering in the consumption of foreign articles, that it has the effect of perpetuating our trade, and that trade is the grand source from which we derive the maintenance and establishment of our navy! Let us grant that we depend upon foreign supplies for a number of necessary materials, and that to pay for these materials, we must set in motion a part of the industry of our disposable population:—What has this to do with the industry of that other part of our disposable population, who are employed in providing us with foreign luxuries? The industry of the second part can have no effect in promoting the industry of the first. It is wholly expended in supplying private families with articles of consumption, and if these articles can be dispensed with, this branch of foreign trade must be annihilated. But the other branch

remains entire, and what is more, it may be aided and extended by the industry of all the population who are discarded from their former employments.

But if this branch of foreign trade is suspended by a forcible termination of all correspondence between the countries, what will become of us? We must attempt to derive naval stores from another quarter; or, if we persevere in the old way, the risk of capture and condemnation must have the effect of bringing them to the country at a much heavier expence. This is all very true, and it is the best argument in the world why government should extend its taxations, and of course reduce all those branches of foreign trade, the object of which is to supply the country with luxuries. If the maintenance of the navy is deemed essential to the security of the nation, let no expence be spared on such an object, and if the circumstances of the times have added to the expence or difficulty of procuring naval stores, let government be furnished with an additional revenue to meet these increased obstacles. If the price of our naval stores rises, what is this but saying, that a greater population must be employed than before, in working up commodities for the purchase of them? Give an additional tax to government, and you will soon make over an additional population to its service. You dismiss them

from the office of providing you with luxuries, and they enter into the service of government, which is now furnished with the ability of maintaining them.

I here take occasion to repeat an observation which has been already brought forward. The general habit of political reasoners, when discussing the subject of trade and manufactures, is to attend to the producer only, and to keep the consumer entirely out of sight. The interest of the consumer is never thought of, except when the commodity in question is something very essential to his comfort and accommodation. We could want tea, and sugar, and wine, and oranges; and accordingly, in the destruction of these different trades, it is not the inconvenience to which the consumer of these articles is subjected which afflicts us. We never think of him, but suffer our whole sympathy to be engrossed by the people engaged in the trade, and mourn not over the loss of tea, wine, sugar, and oranges; but over the decay of the West India interest, the East India interest, and the Portugal interest. But in as far as the trade for naval stores is concerned, this process of sentiment is reversed. It is not the loss of the trade which afflicts us, but the loss of the article which the trade furnishes. It is not the loss of employment to the people engaged in the trade, but the inconvenience to which the want of naval stores

would subject the country. We here set trade on its true footing, which is, that the sole object of it is to supply the consumer with what he wants. Why should not this principle be applied, without exception, to every branch of trade? Why should not trade and manufactures be stript of that delusive importance which has always been annexed to them? Why should not we come to acknowledge, that the interest of the people employed in trade is not the question; but that the whole amount of its usefulness, is to furnish articles of convenience and enjoyment?

Another argument for maintaining foreign trade in all its original extent is, that it affords a valuable nursery of seamen for recruiting our navy. We allow, that for the formation of a navy, an extended foreign trade is very useful, and perhaps necessary. The difficulty does not lie in building ships, and providing every kind of materials for their equipment. The difficulty lies in finding men formed to seamanship, by constant voyages, and trained to hardihood from their infancy amid the perils of a boisterous element. It is easy to build a vessel and deck it out in warlike array, but if you man it with a landed crew, you take from it half its efficiency. It is not by naval reviews that they can be formed, or by mock engagements at the mouth of a harbour. They must be trained to a dexterity

of management amid every variety of danger; they must be inured to the roughest weather; they must be disciplined in storms and difficulties; a tempest is the school of our brave seamen; the loud wind and the roaring wave are their teachers. You must perhaps then have foreign trade to create a navy; but to create a navy is one thing, and to keep it up, is another. After a navy is formed, it may be maintained in seamen, independently of foreign trade. What is it that mans our merchant vessels? It is the price held out to our seamen. And who pays this price but the inland consumer? It is the ability of the country which supports them. And the same ability can support them in another employment. It can dispense with their services in carrying to us our luxuries; and it can direct that service to the public interest. It can afford them the same maintenance, in a ship of war that it did before in a ship of merchandise. It can hold out the same allurement to his entering into the navy, that was formerly effectual in drawing him to his present employment. A vigorous system of retrenchment must throw a great number of our sailors out of employment; but it leaves us the means of commanding their services in another department. They may be transferred into the new employment of servants to the public. They may be taken into the navy, and give new extent and efficiency to this palladium of national independence.

But what becomes of our school for seamen? Annihilate our foreign trade, it may be said, and you cut us out of all future supplies. From what quarter can we fill up the vacancies which the mortality of every year must leave behind it? From the same quarter which fills up the vacancies among our trading seamen, and gives new and yearly additions to the crews of our merchant vessels. Get your naval recruits from the country. The same ability which can allure a part of our young population to leave their homes and their parents, and embark in the pay of a merchant, can also allure them to the navy, where they may meet with equal pay and equal encouragement from the hands of government. These young recruits can mingle every year with the veteran and disciplined sailors of our naval establishment; they can be gradually formed to expertness and hardihood; and now that a navy is formed, it can be perpetuated independently of foreign trade; it can become its own school and its own nursery.

This single circumstance is enough to give Great Britain an astonishing controul over the politics of Europe. It has a navy already formed, and a navy which, by the economy of a patriotic people withdrawing their trading sailors from the employment of administering to their luxuries, to the employment of asserting their glory and po-

litical independence, can be extended to a limit of which we have at present no conception. We can perpetuate a navy independently of foreign trade; but though we can perpetuate, we would find it difficult, if not impossible, to create. Now, this country has only to perpetuate its immense navy. Every other country in Europe has in a manner to create theirs. This they can scarcely do without the previous existence of sailors, without a foreign trade, which the navy of Britain can at all times controul or annihilate. We can not only maintain our navy, but we can perhaps prevent every other navy in the world from rising into existence. We have preoccupied the sea. The grand theatre of naval discipline is ours. Before they can ever think of disputing our possession of it, they must practise on this theatre; and this they cannot do without our permission. If he is an enemy of violent and inflexible ambition, perpetual war is the policy of this country. A long interval of peace would furnish him with seamen and a navy. To us, the evil of perpetual war would be the loss of luxury, the gain would be security and independence. An economy founded on the enthusiasm of a patriotic spirit, could pay all our expences, could withdraw our population from the ranks of merchandise to the ranks of war, could enable us to maintain our security; could

baulk our enemy in the favourite objects of his ambition; and probably humble him into concessions which might lead to the future repose of Europe.

The carrying trade forms another branch of our foreign commerce, which is not supported by the demand of private consumers. There is a delusive splendour in this branch of our commerce which has misled many a political reasoner into a false estimate of its importance. It gives an eclat to our country to say, that it holds in its hand the luxury of the world. But let it be remembered, that it is only a fraction of the whole concern which accrues to us, the profit that is made by the merchant. In a home trade, each article in the exchange belongs to the country. In a foreign trade, one of these articles belongs to it. In a carrying trade, neither of the articles belongs to it; and the whole advantage which redounds to the country is the profit made upon the transaction, a mere part and fraction of the whole. But, even allow the carrying trade all its advantages, it can in no way affect the truth and the importance of our conclusions. The retrenchment of our consumers at home can never affect the extent or the prosperity of our carrying trade. The whole effect of these retrenchments is confined to another branch of our commerce, which is altogether distinct and independent of the former, to that part of our foreign trade which

brings its return in articles of consumption. The annihilation of this part of our foreign trade cannot, in the slightest degree, involve in it the decay or destruction of the carrying trade. The one is supported by the demand at home, by the taste and appetites of our countrymen. The other is supported by the demand abroad, by the taste and appetites of foreigners. The annihilation of the one trade would withdraw no capital from the other; it would rather lay it open to new supplies of capital withdrawn from its former investiture, in a trade which is now abandoned by the consumers who supported it.

If a general spirit of retrenchment goes abroad among the people, it can only affect the prosperity of that trade which is employed in providing us with the articles that we retrench upon. Every other branch of commerce may be carried on with its wonted spirit and activity, and from the ruins of that trade which we have abandoned we collect an immense population, whose energy can be wielded in some new direction, more suited than before to the taste or necessities of the country.

This general habit of economy, it may be said, would be attended with a diminution of wealth among our colonial merchants and proprietors. But, in as far as this wealth is founded upon the consumption of their commodities in this coun-

try, they can be regarded in no other light than as the servants of the public. They are paid by us for administering to our luxuries. If we choose to dispense with these luxuries, this portion of our wealth remains with us. The labourers and manufacturers employed in the purchase and conveyance of our colonial produce can be as well supported as before in another capacity, and from the same portion of wealth we have the power to award to every individual a full indemnification.

That part of their wealth, again, which is founded on the consumption of foreign countries, cannot be in the slightest degree impaired by the general habit of retrenchment, to which a heavy system of taxation would compel the inhabitants of the British empire. The demand from foreign nations would certainly not be affected by any fluctuations in the taste and policy of this country. The influx of capital from our home and foreign trades of consumption, would enable us to extend, beyond its present limits, the commercial intercourse between our colonies and other countries, and would bear down all competition from the capital of foreign merchants. The capital at present vested in this employment would be extended by those immense accessions which must flow into it from other departments of trade that our merchants have been compelled to abandon,

It would rise to such a superiority over the floating capitals of other countries, as to secure us the monopoly of the colonial trade, independently of all legal restrictions; and a monopoly which our naval superiority would always in time enable us to extend to the colonies of the hostile nation.

In every point of view, then, a saving of consumption is a real addition to the strength and resources of the empire. Consumption absorbs a certain portion of our energy, takes up a certain portion of the industry of our disposable population. If this consumption is given up, that industry can be transferred to another direction. It can be supported in another employment. So many of the disposable population who are thus dismissed from their former occupations, may be made over to the service of the state in the capacity of soldiers; so many may go to recruit our navy; so many to manufacture public stores, or to work for the purchase and importation of them from foreign countries; and, in addition to all this, there might be the extension of our carrying trade, which may be considered in so far a national object, as it gives eclat to our country, and subjects Europe to a dependence on us for its luxuries.

It is astonishing how much the sagacity of our first rate politicians has been imposed upon by

the habit of ascribing some inherent and original value to trade and manufactures, independently of their subservience to enjoyment. It has misled them to the ruinous and infatuated policy of encouraging consumption, and linking the revenue of the country, not with the economy, but with the extravagance, of its inhabitants. It has also misled them to a false estimate of the strength and resources of other countries. What more glaring than the infatuation of Mr Pitt building upon his airy financial speculations the most extravagant prophecies as to the helplessness and decay of the French nation? True, he cast his eye over the surface of that immense country; he there found few manufactures, few articles which he could enter into his list of exciseable commodities; no commerce, no custom-house entries. It is all very true, the revolutionary storm had arisen and blown the whole of this paper machinery to atoms. But the country stood. The sun shone upon it as before. The corn grew and ripened into harvest. Its immense population was supported. Their subsistence remained with them. What though commerce and manufactures were annihilated? This could not affect the subsistence of the people. It could only affect the distribution of their industry. Great part of the agricultural produce went before to support tradesmen and manufac-

turers, in the capacity of administering to the luxury of private individuals. But a territorial impost can appropriate this redundant produce to the necessities of the state. An energetic government can engross it for the service of the public. It can assume to itself the controul of those people who were formerly supported by it. It can withdraw them from the labour of providing luxuries, to the labour of manufacturing armour, of providing military stores, of fighting for defence and victory. Yes, it is very true, many a manufacture was ruined, and many a branch of commerce was annihilated; but this ruin has been the foundation of their greatness; it has transferred an immense population from the peaceful walks of industry; it has filled the armies of a turbulent ambition; it has enslaved Europe, and left the island in which we live the only secure asylum of liberty in the world.

The example is before us; and we deserve the curses of our children if we neglect to profit by it. Let us prepare for the uttermost extent of our danger. We can if we will. We have the ability; and the immense train of labourers supported by us in the work of administering to our luxuries, is the sure and unquestionable evidence of it. Let us sacrifice our luxury to our patriotism; let us give to our beloved sovereign the

price of their maintenance; they will administer to the nobler purposes of security and independence; the system of law and liberty which adorns the name of Britain, will be perpetuated; and it will serve as a shame and as an example to the persecuted countries of Europe.

France is formidable, and why? because all its resources are under the absolute controul of one individual. It possesses in itself the decision and energy of a despotism. He can engross any portion of its agricultural produce, and of course can command the services of the same proportion of its population. He has made a great and sudden step in the extension of the military system. Like another tyrant who filled his place, and aspired to universal dominion, he has outstript his neighbours in the number and discipline of his armies. When Charles VII. first established a standing army, and when Lewis XIV. extended it, they compelled all their neighbours to imitate their example. We must imitate the policy of our ancestors; we must keep up with the power and the preparations of our enemy. We must extend our military establishment, and this it is impossible to do without trenching upon our manufacturing and commercial interests. A population must be withdrawn from the office of labouring for our luxuries, to the office of labouring for our defence and independence. The country will become poorer ac-

cording to the factitious definition of wealth, which is adopted by our great writers on political economy. The annual produce of our labour will be diminished. The industry of the year will not leave behind it so great a quantity of tangible and marketable commodities. But I maintain that it will become richer in the true sense and significancy of the term. The proprietors of our agricultural produce will receive a greater value in return for this new way of disposing of it. Instead of splendour and luxury, and sensual enjoyment, they will receive what no man of ordinary feelings can hesitate to prefer; they will receive liberty and protection, and the conscious importance which ever accompanies the feeling of being an independent people.

There is nothing peculiar or unprecedented in the policy which is now suggested. It is the same policy which led our ancestors to extend their system of defence, their military establishment, in order to keep pace with the establishment of the nations on the continent. In so doing, there is no doubt that they must have encroached on the trading and manufacturing interests, they must have withdrawn a certain population from other employments. Had that population been suffered to remain, they would have contributed many articles of luxury and enjoyment which the tax that supports them oblige us to dispense with.

The tax which is now at the disposal of government, and supports a certain number of people in the service of government, would have continued at our disposal, and supported the same number of people in the employment of administering to us the materials of luxury and accommodation. To contribute a greater tax, to extend our military system, to trench farther on the trading and manufacturing interests, is only to follow out that line of policy which has been adopted by our ancestors. It is to do as our ancestors have done before us; it is to commute our luxuries for our independence; it is to surrender our enjoyments to the service of the state; it is to impose retrenchments upon ourselves, that we may transmit the inheritance of liberty to our children.

Alarming as the circumstances of the country may be, and great the necessity of exertion, I do not believe that it is necessary to call us to greater sacrifices than our ancestors have already made in the cause of patriotism. It is an unquestionable truth, that the general stile of living is improved even within the period of a few years; that there is more splendour and luxury among all the different orders of society, and from the increase which has taken place in the productive powers of labour, that a smaller population is necessary than before, to contribute the same materials of enjoyment. The agricultural produce is increased, and

the same quantity of that produce can purchase a greater quantity than before of the produce of manufacturing industry. The increase in the agricultural produce gives us a greater disposable population. The improvement in the productive powers of labour renders a smaller number of this population necessary to work up the same materials of luxury and enjoyment. In both ways, then, you can, with the same degree of luxury as before, spare a much greater population to the public service of the country; or, in other words, if families would recur to the humble stile and simplicity of our grandfathers, I maintain, that the amount of their actual retrenchments would give an extent to our military establishments sufficient to resist every danger which menaces us.

There is a competition between government and its subjects for labourers. Government wants labourers for the manufacture of naval and military stores, for working up exports to purchase these stores, or for the direct business of war, whether in our navy or army. The subjects again want labourers for providing them with articles of luxury and enjoyment. That party will prevail in the competition which has most to give, which has the greatest inducement to offer for enlisting into its service. If government, by a rigorous taxation, engrosses to itself the wealth of the country, it must also engross to itself the services of the dis-

posable population, and our army would be speedily recruited from the ruin of those different employments which had for their object the luxury and accommodation of individuals. But if government, from the lenity of its taxations, leaves a great proportion of the wealth of the country in the hands of its subjects, it must lay its account with a slow and inefficient system of recruiting. Men may be had for a price, but it is the party which can afford the highest price that must prevail in the competition. How can we expect the people of the country to enlist into the public service, if individuals can outbid government, and allure labourers into a service more profitable and advantageous? The high price of manufacturing industry must ever operate as an obstacle to the raising of a military force; and the only way of surmounting this obstacle, is by trenching upon the ability of those whose luxury creates a demand for manufacturing industry, and whose wealth enables them to render this demand effective. All the ingenuity of our statesmen will be expended in vain upon the means of giving spirit and activity to the recruiting service, if they neglect the simple expedient of taxation, a taxation that will force the people of the country to retrench their expenditure, to let down their demand for the various articles of luxury; to discard a great part of the population employed in preparing these articles,

and make them over to government, which is now enabled, from the produce of the increased taxes, to give them the same encouragement that they had in their former employments.

It is by this expedient alone that Britain can convert a compulsory into a voluntary service, and can combine the energy of a despotism with the form and spirit of liberty. In the moment of alarm, we are often compelled to adopt compulsory measures for giving extent both to our naval and military establishments. We impress seamen, and we ballot for the deficiencies in our militia regiments, which deficiencies are previously created by the artifice of drafting a certain proportion of militia into the regulars. To pay for this addition to our establishments, a fund must be created, a tax must be imposed, and the ultimate effect of the new state of things is quite the same with what would be produced by the less exceptionable method which we recommend. The effect in both cases is ultimately the same, but there is a great difference in the order of the steps by which government arrives at it. In the compulsory way, the change in the distribution of employment is made to precede the change in the distribution of wealth. The men are in the first instance forced from their former occupations, and a tax afterwards devised for paying them. They feel the hardship of being compelled to re-

nounce an employment in which they earned a peaceful subsistence. They may submit, but the gall of discontent rankles within them, and government becomes odious and unpopular among the labouring classes of the community. Instead of beginning then with a levy of men, begin with a levy of money. Instead of changing the distribution of employment by a compulsory requisition, change the distribution of wealth by a compulsory taxation. Instead of holding out the show of hardship and tyranny to the lower orders, begin with the middling and wealthier classes of the country. They have a more obvious interest in its salvation. They are more enlightened, and will readily see that it amounts to the same thing with them, whether they pay a tax to maintain men who have been already raised by compulsion, or to maintain men who are to be immediately allured into the public service by the bounties and encouragements of government. They will submit, therefore, to the tax with cheerfulness. To pay this tax, they must withdraw from certain articles of expenditure, or, in other words, they must withhold their support from certain departments of trading and manufacturing industry. Trade and manufactures must accommodate to the demand which exists for their productions. If this demand lessens, they must decay, and a smaller number of people be necessary to carry on their operations.

The wages of all must decline, and many be thrown out of employment. But a new employment is now provided for them. The public service of the country is open to them. Instead of being dragged to it, as before, they will welcome it as their resource from misery; and for the reluctant obedience of slaves, we will gain the obedience of the heart, the homage of a willing and affectionate patriotism.

Has any man the conscience to maintain, that the public revenue of Britain has arrived at its limit, when, on casting his eye over the face of the country, he finds more luxury and expensive indulgence than ever prevailed in any period of its history; when, on examining the stile and expenditure of families, he finds a thousand articles which can be dispensed with, and leave us an existence far preferable to any we can ever expect to enjoy under the galling tyranny of an invader?

It is in the power of Britain to hold out to the eyes of the world a spectacle the most sublime and interesting that was ever exhibited on the theatre of human affairs. The tyrant of France has the whole continent of Europe under the grasp of his lawless and unprincipled dominion. This country is still in reserve, either to arrest his progress, or to fall a last victim to the cruelty of his ambition. It is the last stake of liberty in the world. A cause cannot be imagined more inte-

resting to the human race, or more dear and animating to the hearts of freemen. The interests we contend for are high, let our efforts be great. Let us call forth, if necessary, all the energy of our disposable population. Let us withdraw them from the idle employment of providing us with luxuries. Trade may perish, but it is the whistling of a name. It is a bugbear framed by mercantile policy, and conjured up to mislead the eye of the country from its true interests. Let us suspend our luxuries; let us approve ourselves a nation of patriots; let us withdraw our people from the walks of merchandise; let us be an armed country, and from one end of the island to the other, let nothing be heard but the note of preparation. What! Can even half a million of Frenchmen overrun a country, where, after the business of agriculture, and the business of providing all the necessaries of existence, there remains at least three times that number of effective population, ready to obey any direction which the will of the country chooses to impress upon it. Yes, if Bonaparte prevails, we deserve it, and this galling recollection will be the consummation of our miseries; our children will live in iron times, and, in the bitterness of their hearts, will exclaim, "what were our ancestors doing all the time when France was preparing her armies, and menacing that noble system of law and liberty which once

adorned the name of Britain?" What I now say, if it shall survive the wreck of revolutionary violence, will be an answer to their question. "Your ancestors were not idle. They were carrying on the great business of trade and manufactures. In other words, some of them were furnishing us with wine; some had enough to do in the great work of providing us with tea and sugar; some in decking out our persons with costly and elegant attire; some in the manufacture of rich and beautiful carpets, or the various articles of household furniture, and all in upholding the stile, fashion, consequence, and luxury of individuals; matters, it would appear, far preferable in the eyes of your forefathers, to all the triumphs of national independence, to all the blessings of security, to all the glory of upholding the cause of patriotism, and transmitting the noble inheritance of liberty to their children."

If the enjoyment of defence is preferable to the enjoyment of a certain article of luxury, why persevere in the use of that article? Because, say some, the preparation of that article gives employment and maintenance to many thousands of the British population. We allow that it gives employment, but it is the consumer of the article who gives the maintenance. In every change of employment, the same maintenance may be given; and what other principle should regulate the

change of employment, but the will and interest of him who is the proprietor of this maintenance? If the master of a family chooses to dispense with the office of valet-de-chambre, it does not affect his ability to maintain his valet-de-chambre in any other capacity. He may erect a new office in his household, and give him the same salary and maintenance as before. The whole amount of the change is a new employment to the servant, and a new species of service more agreeable to the will of the master. Suppose that all the masters of families in the kingdom were to adopt this example; upon what principle should the establishment of this general change be resisted? Would it not be preposterous to say that the valets-de-chambre must first be consulted? They form a certain proportion of his Majesty's subjects, and some weight must be given to their opinion. They form a body, and it were highly imprudent to give offence to a body, or to overlook the valet-de-chambre interest. The parallel exactly holds with the consumers, considered as one party, and the manufacturers considered as another. If it be the general will and interest of the country, to dispense with any article of consumption, and make over the price of that article in the form of a tax to government, it is only exercising its undoubted right of controul over the servants whom it maintains. It can change or modify their em-

ployment at pleasure. They must obey every direction which the wealth of the country chooses to impress upon their industry. They may call themselves a respectable body, and this they undoubtedly are. They may dignify themselves with the names of so many respective interests. They may pass under the different denominations of South Sea interest, Levant interest, or even East India interest. These are mighty names, and people annex to them the idea of some necessary inherent original virtue, without which the country would hasten to insignificance and decay. But these interests, great as they are, are the creation of the country; are upheld by an antecedent wealth, which exists in the country; could be maintained to the same extent under another form, and for another service; and though annihilated at this moment, would give rise to the erection of so many more interests, as flourishing, as extensive, and more accommodated to the taste and circumstances of the nation.

CHAP. III.

THE CASE OF A COUNTRY WHICH HAS TO IMPORT AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

When one casts his eye over the face of a country, he must be sensible that one district often wears a very different character from another. In one district he will observe more trading establishments, a greater number of manufacturing towns, and a population far beyond its means of subsistence. In another district he will observe that the population is a good deal below the level of the subsistence produced in it; that the inhabitants are chiefly employed in the cultivation of the soil; that there are few manufactures, and these chiefly of the most bulky and uncarriageable commodities. The reason for this distribution of employment is obvious. The one country is more favourably situated for manufactures than the other. It may have the ad-

vantage of vicinity to coal, of vicinity to the raw material out of which the manufactured commodity is formed, of rapid streams of water, which they can convert into a moving power for giving impulse to their machinery. In consequence of all these advantages, it can work up the manufactured commodity at a cheaper rate, and with fewer labourers, than it is possible to do in other districts. The neighbourhood of Sheffield abounds in iron stones, and coal. This gives it a great advantage in the manufacture of cutlery ware, and it accordingly supplies all England with this article of convenience. In other parts of the country, it may be possible to set up such a manufacture; but then it would probably be at a much heavier expence. You would perhaps have to transport from a great distance the raw material, and the coal which works it. It may therefore be cheaper to buy from Sheffield, than to manufacture in your own neighbourhood. Instead of subsisting manufacturers at home to work your cutlery ware, you find it cheaper to subsist manufacturers at a distance, in consequence of the natural advantages of their situation. You import your manufactured goods from a manufacturing county, and you export the produce of your land from your agricultural county.

There are two disadvantages then which the manufacturers of Sheffield have to struggle with. Be-

fore they can furnish their customers at a distance with their article, the price of its conveyance must be added to the original price, and this addition may be conceived to be so great as to encourage the institution of a rival manufacture in the neighbourhood of these customers. And another disadvantage is the higher wage they must give to their labourers. They maintain them not with grain raised in the immediate neighbourhood, but with grain raised at a distance. The whole expence of its carriage is an addition to the wages of labour, or a diminution of the profits of their employment. To counterbalance these disadvantages, they have the natural advantages of their situation. So long as the latter preponderate, there is an encouragement to men of capital, to vest it in the manufacture of cutlery ware. There is a rushing in of capital to this employment, until its profits be reduced to the general run of profits in the country.

This then is the limit at which it remains stationary; and all further stop is put to the extension of the manufacture. If a few men of capital were to embark in the speculation of setting up some more manufactures of the kind, a greater quantity of cutlery ware would be produced, and its price would fall in consequence of the more plentiful supply brought to market. But what is more than this, to set these new manufactures agoing,

there must be a demand for more labourers, and for more agricultural produce to subsist these labourers. This agricultural produce would rise in those countries where there was a greater demand for it; or it would be perhaps brought from a greater distance than before, and a heavier expence would attend its conveyance. At all events, the wages of labour would rise, and in every way, the profits of the employment be so much reduced, as to discourage any more adventurers from embarking in it

In this way, the labourers who derive their food from a distance, cannot be accumulated in any place beyond a certain limit

What is true of different parts of the same country, is true to a much greater degree of different countries *. Add to the distance, and you

* The truth is, it is difficult to find in any part of Great Britain, a sufficiently palpable example of an inequality in the price of grain from the expence of carrying it. This is owing to the extreme facility of conveyance, both from our insular situation, and the extent of our inland navigation. In this way, the mere expence of carriage gives so small an addition to the price, as to be often more than compensated by the advantage of the great and ready market, which the crowded population of our manufacturing towns is sure to create. But if you take the case of different countries, you of course add so much to the expence of conveyance, that the operation of the principles above insisted upon becomes quite sensible.

add to the expence of carrying agricultural produce from one part of the country to another. One county may be more favourably situated than another for manufactures, and to a certain extent its manufactured commodities may be exported in return for agricultural produce. But this must necessarily have its limits. In a county, the inhabitants are often accumulated beyond its means of subsistence. But this accumulation in time, comes to its limit; and what is applicable to different counties, is applicable in a much higher degree to different kingdoms. The inhabitants of a whole country are seldom accumulated to any great degree beyond the limits of its own agricultural produce. You may propose to institute new manufactures, and in this way you reduce the price of your manufactured commodities in foreign markets, by bringing forward a more plentiful supply. You at the same time set up a greater demand for labourers, and for the subsistence of labourers. You raise the price of agricultural produce, and you therefore raise the wages of labour. In every way the profits of your employment may come to be reduced to a mere nothing. You are discouraged from the idea of giving any farther extent to manufactures, and come at last to perceive that it is impossible to extend the number of inhabitants in

a country, far beyond the limits of its natural population.

This redundant population has never borne a great proportion to the whole population of a country. There is a delusive splendour in commerce, that imposes an extravagant idea of its greatness. Foreign trade forms a very showy part of our national establishment. By dint of manufactures we can at times force a redundant population into the country, and make the agricultural produce of other countries contribute to their subsistence. Their number forms an addition to the population of the country, and their wealth forms an addition to the wealth of the country. This addition has been much exagerated, and I believe that the advantage of it is too questionable to be ever the object of an enlightened policy. When we read of the weekly imports of grain into the ports of England, we are apt to be astonished at the quantity; and conclude, that an immense population must be maintained by it. But there is a great deception in all this. The imported grain comes home in ships, and a fleet of merchantmen is a very brilliant and imposing spectacle. It figures away in every newspaper, and all the grain that comes into the country is recorded in the journals of a custom-house. It is a perfect bagatelle, however, to the inland produce of the country. According to the very moderate

estimate of Mr M'Pherson, author of the annals of commerce, the average crop of wheat in Britain amounts to eight millions of quarters. The greatest importation ever known was in the year 1800, when it amounted to about one million of quarters, or less than one-eight of our annual consumption. Take the ten years preceding 1799, an interval that comprehends two or three years of considerable scarcity, and it will be found from the registers of the importation of grain, that the average quantity of wheat imported did not amount to above one-thirty-third of our annual consumption; and upon the whole, I account it a safe estimate, that the redundant population of Great Britain does not amount to above one-thirtieth of the natural population of the island.

This fact I conceive to be pregnant with consequences of the utmost importance. With the exception of a thirtieth part, the whole population of this country is subsisted upon its agricultural produce; and with the exception of the industry of this thirtieth part, the whole industry of the country is maintained and upheld by its own inherent ability. Take off this thirtieth part, and there remains first, a population employed in raising agricultural produce for our subsistence; secondly, a population employed in manufacturing those other necessaries of life that cannot be dispensed with, and, thirdly, an immense disposable population that

can be directed to any service which the country requires of them, that can be withdrawn from their present employment, and directed to other employments, according more with the taste or interest of the times. This, I hope, must appear evident to all with whom I have succeeded in communicating a distinct apprehension of my principles. Take off the thirtieth part, and every labourer of the country, in whatever department of trading or manufacturing industry he is employed, is subsisted upon the agricultural produce of the country. But this agricultural produce, you will say, does not form the whole of his wage or maintenance. He must have clothes for himself and family. He must have a house to shelter him. He must have salt and fuel, and all the second necessaries of existence. Nay, in the present style of expence which prevails among the lower classes of the community, he must have what, in the sobriety of a former age, would have been called the superfluities of existence. He must have sugar and tea, and malt liquors; he must have a neatness and accommodation in his house, and a finery in his dress, which might certainly be dispensed with. All this is very true, but it is all an evidence of the greatness and extent of our agricultural produce. He enjoys all these additions to his comfort, because the agricultural produce is able, not only to feed him, but to feed all those who are employed in labouring for his other accommo-

dations. It can not only feed him, but it can feed his taylor, his mason, his coal carrier, the manufacturer of the exported article that is sent abroad to pay his tea, his sugar, and his foreign luxuries. It can afford the material for the manufacture of his beer, and it can feed those who are employed in the manufacture of that beverage. All those people, if he will have it so, we must class among that part of the population who labour for the necessaries of existence. They form no part of the disposable population. They belong to the second division of the population of the country. But he himself, and many thousands more, may belong to the disposable population. Their employment may consist in the preparation of an article which the wealthier people of the country are forced to abstain from, in consequence of the heavy tax which they give to the government. Their customers desert them, and they must seek for maintenance in another employment. Government is ready to receive them, and is now invested with the ability of giving them the same maintenance as before, of giving them a price sufficient to purchase both their own food, and the food of all who labour for those additional accommodations which they formerly enjoyed.

As to the redundant population, the thirtieth part that have chosen to take up their abode with us, and to graft themselves upon the natural po-

pulation of the country, they must look out for themselves. Part of them will be employed in working up exported articles for the purchase of agricultural produce, and this agricultural produce will be sufficient to subsist not merely the manufacturers of the exported articles, but will go to feed all the remaining members of the redundant population, who are employed in preparing the second necessaries of existence for the individuals of their own body.

There are two ways of estimating the advantage of a redundant population. You may compute the addition which this population gives to the wealth of a country, and this is correctly enough done by summing up the incomes of all the individuals who belong to the redundant population. Or, you may compute the addition which they can be made to give to the public revenue of the country, or the quantity of their wealth, that is convertible by taxation to the purposes of government. In the first way of estimating, it must be allowed that the amount of the incomes of the redundant population is equal to the amount of the incomes of any other equal part of the trading population, because the wages of their industry, and the profits of those whose capitals are vested in it, must be equal to the general run of profit and wages in the country. But there is one important difference. The produce of their industry

is exported in return for the agricultural produce which maintains them. The equivalent for their maintenance does not belong to the country. It belongs to the proprietors of that agricultural produce that is imported from abroad. These proprietors afford the maintenance, and they receive the equivalent. The fraction of one-thirtieth does not express the addition which the redundant population gives to the wealth of the country; for this fraction, small as it is, must be reduced by the whole value of the articles which are exported to pay the agricultural produce.

One part of the redundant population labours for the luxury of proprietors abroad. The produce of their industry is exported as a return for their subsistence, and becomes no longer the property of the country. An equal part of the natural population, indicates a much greater degree of wealth, for this population labours for the luxury of proprietors at home. They are as well subsisted as the others, and the produce of their industry still belongs to the country, for it is given to our inland proprietors, as a return for the maintenance which they derive from them.

Even though the produce of the industry of our natural population is exported, it is not, like that of the redundant population, sent abroad to pay for their subsistence, This subsistence they derive from the country, and it is sent abroad to purchase

luxuries, which are to be given to our inland proprietors, as a return for their subsistence.

Take a thirtieth part of the natural population, and in estimating the wealth which their existence indicates, you add together the wages of the labourers, the profits of the stock-holders, and the rent of those landed proprietors who give them their subsistence. Take an equal redundant population, and you have only the wages of labourers, and the profits of stock-holders to include in your estimate. The rent of the landed proprietors who give them their subsistence, does not belong to the country. They reside abroad, and their rent forms part of the wealth of other nations.

But if you attempt to compute the addition which the redundant population affords to government, you will find that it is still more insignificant. A heavy taxation would sweep them off from the face of the country. Their industry flourishes, because the natural advantages of the country enable them to undersell their neighbours, in spite of the heavy expence of an imported subsistence. If, in addition to this expence, a certain tax were imposed, it might reduce their superiority to nothing, and force them to discontinue their employment. If the tax is on any articles of necessary consumption, it increases the expence of subsisting the labourers;

an expence which might reduce the profit of the capitalist to a lower rate than he could gain, by transferring the manufacture to another country. If the tax is on income, or an article of luxury, it might add so much to his own personal expences as induce him to transfer his capital to another country, where, with a more moderate profit, he can command a greater quantity of comfort, and maintain a better establishment. Our legislators, in the spirit, as I think, of a mistaken policy, would tremble at the idea of a tax which would have the effect of annihilating a single manufacture. Our trading and manufacturing interests must be attended to. We must take care not to push the taxation beyond what they can bear; and we like the idea so much of our population working at shops and at looms for our luxury, rather than in the field of battle for our rights and securities, that manufacturers must be treated with the greatest delicacy, and we must content ourselves with the gleanings of their revenue.

Now, the case is very different with an equal trading population, maintained by the agricultural produce of the country. Instead of a small fraction, government can appropriate the whole concern to itself. They labour for the luxury of our landed proprietors at home, and if these proprietors can be forced to dispense with this luxury, they can be made to labour in the service of govern-

ment. The redundant population labour for the luxury of landed proprietors abroad, and all that they can yield to government is a fraction of their profits; for the main force of their industry is expended on the production of an equivalent to those from whom they derive their subsistence. An equal part of the natural population can be made to contribute the full force of their industry to the service of government; government can appropriate to itself, not merely the fraction of their profits, but, by a tax on the landed proprietors, it can appropriate to itself the right of demanding the whole equivalent, and directing what that equivalent shall be; the addition of a thirtieth part to the agricultural produce of the country by importation, is the addition of a much smaller fraction to the public resources. The addition of an equal part, by an improvement in the cultivation of the soil, may be converted into a clear and total addition to the public resources of the country. It would go to augment our disposable population, and every part of our disposable population may be made to give their entire services to the necessities of the state. The redundant population cannot be withdrawn from their present employment. They are not convertible to any other species of industry. It is in virtue of their present employment that they earn their subsistence. They are fixed down

to it by the will of their customers abroad; a will that is beyond the reach of government, and that its authority cannot controul.'

The addition which a redundant population gives to the strength and resources of a country, is, beyond all comparison, insignificant, when contrasted with the addition that is afforded by an equal part of our natural population. It is an excrescence that may add to the bulk of the body politic, but with a small addition, indeed, to its vigour and activity, and, like most other excrescences, I believe that it is hurtful; that it is pregnant with a thousand mischiefs, which the very small contribution that it affords to our revenue can but poorly compensate for; that it is a load and an oppression upon the country; and an oppression the more intolerable, as it is valued by government; as it misleads the eye of the country from its essential interests; as it at one time fills the mind of the public with unreasonable alarm, and at another with unreasonable triumph and satisfaction; as it embarrasses the councils of the nation, and has diffused among us the principles of an infatuated policy.

It is from this circumstance that, in the minds of many, the existence of the nation has been linked with the prosperity of its manufactures. When the demand ceases abroad, or we are undersold in any of the foreign markets, the

strength of the nation is supposed to be at an end. It is very true, that if there be a redundant population, their employment is at an end. They can no longer obtain an equivalent for their industry. This equivalent comes to them in the form of subsistence from foreign countries, and if that subsistence is withheld, distress and helplessness must ensue. There will be a diminution of food, because part of our usual supply was furnished from abroad. In other words, there will be an overstocked population, and that population must, of necessity, be reduced, either by emigrating to foreign countries, by the diseases attendant on spare living, or by the usual rate of propagation being suspended, in consequence of the dearness of provisions operating as a discouragement to marriage. The redundant population will, in the course of a few years, be swept from the face of the country; and the whole loss ultimately sustained, will be the very small fraction of their income, that they yield to the public revenue.

This is the whole amount of the mischief, and for this are we to give up the country in despair? Because we lose a poor fraction of the wealth of our redundant population, are we to sink in terror as if overpowered by a death-blow? or are we to sit down in puling inactivity, when the whole energy of our natural population is

still before us? No disadvantage in trade, no seclusion from the markets of other countries, can affect the entire controul that the nation exerts over the disposable part of its natural population. Some of them are at present employed in working up commodities for exportation, but they are virtually paid by our inland consumers. If all exportation ceases, then all importation ceases along with it. The whole amount of the mischief is the loss of the imported article; if that article can be dispensed with, the ability remains with our inland consumers to give the same support and maintenance as before, to our discarded manufacturers. Bonaparte aims a death-stroke at the country, by excluding us from the markets on the continent; it is what I would not have expected from the powers of his original and enlightened policy. Let us take Portugal for an example: Where is the mischief that accrues to the country from the annihilation of trade and intercourse with Portugal? I answer, that the whole amount of the mischief, is the loss of wine, lemons, and oranges. O! something more serious than that, Sir, says one of our mercantile politicians. There is the loss of a market for our hardware and other manufactures. Our artizans and labourers would be thrown out of employment. It is very true, they would be thrown out of their present em-

ployment. But the ability remains in the country, to give them as good maintenance as before in another employment. It is from the price of the imported article that they derived their former maintenance. That price remains with us to give them maintenance still. The policy of Bonaparte will, I hope, operate as a salutary hint and direction to the government of this country. Let government appropriate to itself the wealth that was formerly expended on the purchase of imported articles, and it will also appropriate to itself the services of the discarded manufacturers. They are now paid by our inland consumers, in return for imported luxuries They will afterwards be paid by government in return for public services. Bonaparte, by ruining our trade, is in fact advancing the true greatness of the country: He is filling our armies: He is giving extent and prosperity to all our national establishments. He is debarring us from luxuries, and pouring the population employed in providing them into the business of war. He is emptying our shops and our factories; but he is filling our fleets and batallions: He is giving that direction to our disposable population, which our circumstances call for, and enables us to cope with France, even as a military country.

The alarm raised in the country by the destruction of foreign trade, would speedily subside, if it were not labouring under the pressure of a redundant population. In a single year, I venture to say, that the distribution of employment would accommodate to this new change in the circumstances of the country; and all the labouring classes of the community would feel themselves the same as before in point of comfortable maintenance. But, if part of our subsistence is derived from abroad to feed a redundant population, the destruction of foreign trade would be instantly felt by the lower orders of the community; wages would fall, and the delusion would become more inveterate than ever, that without trade, the country must hasten to insignificance and decay. It would operate as a triumph and a confirmation to all those mercantile prejudices, with which the policy of our legislators is infested. We would feel a dependence on foreign countries, and distrust the sufficiency of our own native and inherent resources.

There are two remedies. Either in a few years this redundant population must be necessarily swept away, or an additional subsistence will be provided for them, from the increased produce and cultivation of the country. The first remedy, though an efficacious, is a most severe one. The second remedy is far more desirable, and is,

I think, completely attainable in the present circumstances of the country. I make bold to say, that there is one simple improvement in the farm-management of England, which may be effected instantaneously, and which would create such an addition to the surplus grain that may be brought to market, as would be perfectly sufficient to feed all the redundant population that exists in the country. This simple expedient consists in diminishing the superfluous number of farm-horses. It is well known, that with two horses, and a plough of proper construction, the same quantity of labour may be performed, as in the general practice of England, is performed by a team of three, four, five, and even six horses. There is no other principle in this, than a ridiculous perseverance in the way of their forefathers. It creates a most useless consumption; and a consumption that can be easily and instantly dispensed with. I do not call upon the general concurrence, either of proprietors or farmers, for the abolition of this extravagance. If we wait for the slow operation of good sense, we may wait long enough; and the redundant population may disappear from the violent and instantaneous effect of scarcity, before the improvement is adopted. The most effectual expedient, is that rigorous taxation that I have been all along recommending. Landlords will be glad to take the highest

rent that is offered for their farms, and to remit that foolish indulgence to their tenantry which, however popular it may render them, is really against the substantial interests of the country. They will lay open their farms to the competition of all the tenantry in the kingdom The more intelligent and economical will outstrip, in their offers, all those who cannot be forced to renounce the slovenly management of their ancestors. Every unnecessary expence and consumption will be retrenched. Rents will advance, and the additional quantity of surplus grain brought to market, will make ample amends for the want of importation. The redundant will be adopted into the natural population, and, instead of the precarious fraction which they at present contribute to the revenue of the country, they may be made to give the whole value of their industry: There will then be ability in the country to maintain them; and, instead of working for foreign employers, they will have to work for those in the country, who are invested with that ability. The tenant who adds to the produce of his farm during the currency of his lease, is, in the first instance, invested with this ability. From him, it passes to the landlord, in the shape of advanced rent at the expiration of his lease. From the landlord, it may be made to pass to government in the form of a tax; or, in other words, the re-

dundant population, instead of working as before, for the luxury and accommodation of foreign customers, may be made to work for the defence and independence of our country. The impotent and mistaken policy of our enemy will only add to the vigour of the nation. He may cut off a few of our showy appendages; but he will find it a worse than Herculean labour to reach an effectual blow to the heart and stamina of the country

It is with pride and satisfaction that I contemplate the agricultural resources of England; and if her legislators would only avail themselves of the wealth that lies before them, I would have nothing to apprehend from this country being brought to the trial of its own native and unsupported energy. Let them turn their eye homewards, and contemplate the extent of unbroken ground that lies before them, the acres that no plough has ever touched, and the acres that still lie under a languishing and imperfect cultivation. I do not wish them to interfere in the details of improvement. Leave these to individuals. The officious interference of government has created a thousand mischiefs, and restrained the natural progress of the country in wealth and population. All that they have to do, is to meet the present emergencies of the country by the extension of our naval and military establishments. This they never can do without an addition to our taxes. In the name of every thing dear to the coun-

try, tax us with an unsparing hand: It is to avert a greater calamity; and if any grumble, he is not a patriot; he deserves not that an ear should be turned to his remonstrances. Give vigour and extent to our armies, and leave the improvement of our agriculture to us. Your taxes will whip us on to improvement. The landlord, to repair the deficiencies which your taxes create in his income, will invite a liberal competition for his farms, and abandon that indulgence which is both hurtful to himself and ruinous to the agriculture of the country. The farmer will abandon that careless and slovenly management which the indulgence of his landlord now encourages him to persist in, and will study, by augmenting and economising his produce, to pay the advanced rent that he offered in the eagerness of competition. The market will teem with subsistence, every year will add to the disposable population of the country; and in a short time, England will have made a greater stride in the progress of true opulence, than all the commerce and manufactures of a century have enabled her to effectuate.

Before I proceed to some collateral investigations with which I shall conclude, let me attempt to comprise, in a short paragraph, the sum and substance of the foregoing discussions.

Part of the agricultural produce goes to feed the population employed in raising it; and part

of it goes to feed the population employed in supplying the country with the second necessaries of existence. If the consumption of these two parts exhausted all the agricultural produce of the country, we would have none of the other accommodations which art or industry can supply. But the fact is otherwise. An immense quantity of agricultural produce remains to subsist an additional population, whom I call the disposable population. Their employment may be modified at the pleasure of those who are vested with that ability which exists in the country to give them their maintenance. If those who are vested with this ability have an appetite for home manufactures, part of the disposable population will be employed in that capacity. If they have an appetite for foreign luxuries, part of the disposable population will be employed in foreign trade, or in working for the purchase and conveyance of these foreign luxuries. But the disposable population can be at all times withdrawn from these employments, at the will of those who are the proprietors of their maintenance. Instead of working for the luxury of their employers in the capacity of tradesmen and manufacturers, they may be made to work for their defence in the capacity of soldiers. Trade and manufactures will decline; and they, who look up to trade and manufactures as the creative and original sources of national greatness,

will stand appalled at the phenomenon. But the whole amount of the change may be expressed by this true and simple statement. With tradesmen and manufacturers, there is the change of one employment for another; and with the proprietors of our original wealth, there is the change of one advantage for another. They exchange luxury for security and independence; and, with the exception of this change, the country is the same in population, and the same in the comfort and accommodation diffused among all its members.

Particular advantages may even force a redundant population upon the country, a population whose subsistence is imported from abroad. These advantages may enable them to undersell their competitors in a foreign market, in spite of the expence of importing subsistence. They may even enable them to contribute their share to the taxes of the country. But if these taxes are pushed beyond a certain limit, they will be necessarily thrown behind in the competition. Their former customers will abandon them, and the country may be filled for a time with the outcry of its impending destruction. But this is a mere bugbear. They never form a great proportion; and in Britain they certainly do not form a thirtieth part of the natural population of the country. The only effect then, will be a greater demand,

upon the agriculture of the country, a demand which, in its present circumstances, it is enabled instantaneously to answer. The redundant will be incorporated with the natural population; from the service of foreign customers they will be transferred to the service of customers at home, and, by a tax upon these customers, they can be made to contribute,—not a fraction as before; but they can be made to contribute the full value and effect of their services to the necessities of the state.

CHAP. IV.

ON PROFIT AND CAPITAL.

It may be said, that I have all along overlooked a very important element, the profit of our capitalists; that, after the population who labour for agricultural produce, and the population who labour for the second necessaries of existence, I have chosen to distribute all who remain into two classes,—the proprietors of the surplus produce, and the workmen, who, in return for this surplus produce, administer to the luxury of the proprietors. What!, must no attention be paid to the stockholder? What becomes of him in this general convulsion? Must he be sacrificed to an unfeeling theory, and be suffered to fall a wreck in this rash and unbridled phrenzy of innovation? If his revenue be withdrawn, and he be suffered to sink to a mere unit in the population of the empire, will it not be equivalent to the disappearance of so much wealth from the country? Will it not detract from the ability of the country? Will it not trench upon the public revenue, composed as

it is of contributions from all the private revenues of the country? Why direct an exclusive attention to the wealth of our landed proprietors? Is the wealth of merchants of no value, of no account in the reckoning? Is not their wealth often appealed to as an evidence of a country's prosperity? Do not the first statesmen of the age look to the income and capital of merchants as the palladium of national wealth? Do not merchants display as striking and as convincing symptoms of wealth as the proprietors of land? They can maintain an equal style. They can support an equal profusion. They can give subsistence to as great a portion of our disposable population. They employ them now in the business of administering to their luxuries; and you can force them, by the imposition of a tax, to withdraw a part of this population from the business of working for luxuries, to the business of working for the necessities of the public service. But if this tax is pushed to the annihilation of trade and manufactures, will it not defeat its own end? Will it not reach a blow to the wealth of our capitalists? Will it not annihilate half the income of the country, and leave us the victims of a rash and infatuated policy?

It is strange, that, in spite of all that has been written by Dr Smith, and the most enlightened authors on political economy, our legislators will

still persist in thinking the profits of our stockholders to be the main interest that is concerned in the operations of trade. The interest of the country is supposed to be identical with the interest of its traders and shopkeepers; and as profit is the grand source of their revenue, so profit, or the difference between the price given and the price received in the conveyance of a commodity, is supposed to be one of the grand sources of the revenue of the public. To the eye of a true political economist, the country should be regarded in the light of a great family, where all its members, and shopkeepers among the rest, operate in their respective departments for the interest and accommodation of the whole. Shopkeepers act a part, and an important part, in the business of accommodating this great family. They are useful servants, and profit is the price that is paid for their usefulness. But it were too ridiculous to make the general interest of the country bend to their subordinate interests. It were too ridiculous, when the nation is threatened with the loss of its existence, not to accommodate the employment of its servants to this state of our affairs, merely that capitalists may be suffered to persevere in their former employment, and reap the profits that they formerly derived from it. Yes, as ridiculous as, when a peer is threatened with insolvency, that he is not to economise his ex-

penditure; that he is not to retrench from his luxuries; that he is not to abandon the use of wine, for example, because this would annihilate the employment and revenue of his butler!

Dr Smith, with great justness, regards profit as an inconsiderable element in the value of a commodity. In estimating the advantage of a home trade, he talks of the exchange of one capital for another. He makes the great value of the transaction to lie in its indicating the existence of two capitals, produced either from the land or labour of the country. The profit of the merchant he speaks of as but a trifling addition to the value of the whole. In estimating the advantage of a direct foreign trade, he reduces it to at least half the value of the former; because, though every exchange indicates, as before, the existence of two capitals; yet only one of these capitals has been produced in the country; only one of them can be taken to account in estimating the produce of its land and labour. The profit he speaks of as insignificant, so insignificant, indeed, that it is of little or no consequence with him in what country the merchant resides. The great advantage, is the production of the capital that has been exchanged. The profit is a mere fraction, and so little calculated in his eyes to add to the wealth of the country, that it is of no consequence which of the countries has the

benefit of it. In estimating the advantage of the carrying trade, he reduces it to a mere nothi g in comparison of the two last. And why? Because though every exchange equally indicates the existence of two capitals; yet each of these capitals is the creation of foreign countries; none of them can enter into the estimate of our own produce: All that we gain is a fraction of the whole concern, the mere profit that is made upon the transaction. So paltry was the mere consideration of profit in the eyes of our great and enlightened economist. And for this insignificant fraction, shall we hesitate to adopt that policy which the circumstances of the country so imperiously require of us? It is the labour of the workmen, and the wages of that labour, that forms the main capital value of every manufactured commodi y. Our politicians seem, however, to have no objection to a change in the distribution of their employment; they seem to admit the principle that, in as far as the mere workmen are concerned, there is nothing in the change that is any way hurtful or tremendous to the country. They would have no objection to withdraw the workmen from any one employment, to any other more suitable to the circumstances of the nation; though it is the labour of these workmen that imparts the main, the capital value, to every manufactured commodity which enters into the enumeration of wealth. It is the

fraction that they startle at. What will become of profit, and all that wealth with which profit enriches the country? O! ye merchants and mercantile statesmen, who strain at a gnat, while ye swallow a camel!

What is the capitalist, in fact, but a man who labours for the production of the manufactured commodity in a higher species of service? and what is profit but the higher wage that is given him for this service? Suppose that one of our manufactures gives employment to a thousand men, with a capitalist at their head, who earns a profit equal to the wages of a hundred of his labourers. To all intents and purposes, this is the same with a manufacture that requires eleven hundred labourers, and from which the idea of profit is altogether excluded. The capitalist spends his income, and in so doing, he gives maintenance and support to ninety-nine independently of himself. These ninety-nine labour for his luxury and accommodation, and the whole business of the manufacture may be said to be carried on by eleven hundred; one thousand of whom are employed in the direct work of the manufacture; one in advancing the necessary capital; and ninety-nine in labouring for the luxury of the capitalist. The labour of these ninety-nine forms a necessary part of the operation. Without them the manufacture would be instantly suspend-

ed. The capitalist will not embark his capital without a certain profit: He will not engage in the business unless he be invested with the ability of employing ninety-nine workmen for his own individual luxuries. He must have more than a thousand labourers who work in the direct manufacture. He must have a profit, or, in other words, ninety-nine who work for himself.

Conceive it possible, for a moment, to carry on this operation without the intervention of capital; that no machinery is requisite; no house, even for the accommodation of the labourers; and that the whole process is carried on by the direct application of mens hands to the raw material, which we may suppose to be of no value. In this case the wages of labour would form the only element, in the price of the manufactured commodity. Profit would have no existence, and there can be no difficulty in perceiving, that in the price which I thus pay for it, I give maintenance to eleven hundred labourers. A capitalist comes forward, and proposes to supply the labourers with tools and other accommodations. He proposes to the consumer to sell him the produce of the industry of a thousand labourers, at the same price which he formerly gave for maintaining the industry of eleven hundred labourers. He thus withdraws from the consumer one hundred of his servants; but to make up for this, he

yields him a far more plentiful supply of the manufactured commodity. By the intervention of capital, the labour of the thousand workmen has been rendered much more productive than the labour of the eleven hundred was before; a greater quantity of the commodity is wrought, and the capitalist must be paid for this advantage. His recompence comes to him in the form of profit. The whole price of the article comprehends in it the maintenance of eleven hundred workmen, and with part of this price, he pays off the maintenance of a thousand in the form of wages. He reserves the maintenance of the additional hundred to himself, which he can dispose of to labourers employed in the business of administering to his own personal enjoyments; and thus, from the original proprietors of the necessaries of existence, he derives an ability to command the services of his share of the disposable population.

The effect, then, of introducing the consideration of profit, is neither to modify nor overthrow a single conclusion that has been established on the subject of home manufactures. Its only effect is to give us a different estimate of the number of labourers engaged in any particular manufacture, and the distribution of their employment. The price paid for the manufacture,

goes not only to maintain the labourers directly engaged in it; Part of it goes, in the shape of profit, to maintain an additional number employed in the business of administering to the luxury of the capitalist.

The profits made on the home trade, form by far the greater proportion of the mercantile profits of every country. Even Mr Pitt, disposed as he was to over-rate the importance of our showy external connections, estimates the profit of the home trade to be to the profit of foreign commerce as 28 to 12, and this too at a time when the carrying trade was carried on to an enormous extent, and when every market, both in Europe and America, teemed with the manufactures of Britain. Diminish the home trade, and you diminish its profits. This diminution of the profits may indicate to some the disappearance of so much wealth from the country. But is it not evident, that these profits stand precisely in the same relation to the wealth of the country, with the wages of those who labour for the production of home manufactures? Do they not resolve themselves into the previous wealth of consumers? May they not be referred to an antecedent wealth that exists in the country? Are not all the reasonings in the first chapter, about the wages and employment of workmen, equally applicable to the profit and the employment of stock-

holders? What is this profit but part of the price that is paid by the consumer? The employment of the stock holder may be destroyed, but the ability of the consumer remains. It can give equal maintenance to the stock-holder in another employment. Liberal may have been his profit, but by that I measure the ability of his customer, an ability which will still exist, to give him an income equally great, an allowance equally liberal for another service and in another capacity. The ability which could withdraw his labourers, and give them the same wages as before in the capacity of labouring for the service of the country, can also withdraw him from his present employment, and give him the same income as before, for fulfilling the duties of some high and distinguished station in the service of his country. He can be maintained in the same relative superiority that he before held over the labouring classes of the community. He can be made to occupy the same point in the scale of society. The same flattering triumphs of fortune and distinction may be made to remain to him. The price of his article, which now gives subsistence to his labourers, and a profit to himself, can maintain them as well as before in the capacity of soldiers, and can maintain him as well as before in the capacity, if you choose, of colonel to a regi-

ment. I am not saying that this will be the actual arrangement; but I am saying that there is ability in the country to make it so. The luxury will be lost; but, with the exception of this evil, there is ability in the country to support the same numbers as before, and the same variety of gradations in the scale of rank and of consequence.

It may not be so obvious at first sight, in what way the profits of foreign trade can be resolved into a previous wealth and ability existing in the country. The case of the merchant importer may appear evident enough. He is paid immediately by our inland consumers. His profit may be referred to an antecedent wealth; that exists independently of him; and which, if withdrawn from supporting him in the capacity of a merchant, can give him equal support and equal affluence in any other capacity.

But what becomes, it may be asked, of the profit of those capitalists who are employed in the manufacture or conveyance of exported commodities? Does it not resolve itself immediately into the wealth of their foreign customers? This profit is the continual transference of wealth, it is supposed, from foreign countries to this country; and if foreign trade is annihilated, this grand enriching process is put a stop to; we lose those profits that are now pouring in upon us; and who

can refuse that this is a clear and undeniable loss to the country? But let it be recollected, that the price of our imported articles embraces in it, not merely the profit of our merchant-importer, but the profit of the different capitalists employed in carrying on the manufacture of that article in foreign countries. The profit of all these foreign capitalists resolves itself immediately into the wealth of our inland consumers; and if foreign trade was annihilated, this wealth would remain in the country, and be transferred to another purpose. The destruction of foreign trade, then, while it annihilates the exportation of our manufactures, annihilates the importation of articles of consumption. If the want of profit on our export trade is to be counted loss to the country, the reservation of that profit which we paid away to foreign capitalists in the price of our imported articles, must, in equal reason, be counted gain to the country. If the one balances the other, there is no loss; if the capitalists employed in the manufacture and conveyance of our exports, be thrown out of their incomes, the whole amount of these incomes still exists in the country with our inland consumers; and may be employed by them to give the same affluence as before, to all these discarded capitalists for another service.

But it is not necessary to suppose, that the profit paid away by our inland consumers to fo-

reign capitalists, is precisely equal to the profit received by our own capitalists on the articles which they export from the country. It is enough, if the whole price paid by our inland consumers for foreign commodities, is equal to the whole price received by our own manufacturers for their exported commodities. If a hundred thousand pounds worth of goods, exported to Portugal, commands the return of a hundred thousand pounds worth of goods, imported into this country, the manufacturer of the exports will receive the whole price by a bill upon the inland consumer. It is of no consequence how this price is distributed, or of what elements you conceive it to be composed. Eighty thousand pounds may go to the wages of the export labourers, and twenty thousand to profit of the export capitalists, or ninety thousand may go to the one purpose, and ten thousand to the other. It is of no consequence. If the value imported is equal to the value exported, it is all paid by the inland consumer. He satisfies the whole demand that is made upon him by the export manufacturer. He gives wages to his labourers, and he gives a profit to himself; or, in other words, he gives direct maintenance to one set of labourers employed in the office of working up the manufactured commodity, and he gives ability to the capitalist to

maintain another set of labourers in the office of administering to his luxuries.

Allow the country then to be fed by its own agricultural produce, and the consideration of profit introduces no peculiarity whatever that can at all modify or affect the reasonings of the second chapter. The price paid for the exported manufacture, may be equal, as before, to the maintenance of eleven hundred labourers. The first ten hundred employed in the manufacture, have been proved to be really dependent on our inland consumers, and the additional hundred are equally dependent on him. The capitalist has no greater right to say that he is independent of the inland consumers than his manufacturing labourers have. It is not to his foreign customers that he must ultimately look for his profit, or for the maintenance of the additional hundred that his profit maintains. This additional hundred are by the supposition fed from the agricultural produce of the country, as well as all those who administer to them the second necessaries of existence. They derive their whole maintenance from an antecedent wealth that exists in the country. It forms part of the price of imported articles that comes to them from the consumer, through the medium of a bill of exchange. If that price is withdrawn, it in most instances destroys the manufacture of exported commodities.

The wages and profit of the concern are both annihilated; but the fund from which they were provided still exists in the country. It exists to give the same maintenance as before to all the discarded manufacturers; to give the same income as before to the capitalist; or, (if the country does not choose to perpetuate his income) to give the same maintenance as before to all the additional labourers; but in some other employment than in administering to the luxury of the capitalist.

There is no peculiarity in the consideration of profit, to modify or overthrow the reasonings of the third chapter. I there supposed part of the redundant population to be labouring in the manufacture of exported articles, who get, in return, agricultural produce sufficient to defray their wages, or, in other words, sufficient both to feed themselves, and to feed another part of the redundant population employed in providing them with the second necessaries of existence. Profit is neither more nor less than a higher wage to the capitalist, and a wage expended, not merely in maintaining himself, but in maintaining all the other members of the redundant population who administer to his luxuries. In virtue, and in effect, profit is equivalent to the employment of an additional number of workmen, and a number equal to what that profit could maintain, if it were distributed

in the form of wages. The consideration of profit does not affect a single conclusion that we have previously established. It only affects the idea that we may have before entertained, as to the distribution of the redundant population. We formerly may have divided them into workmen, who are immediately employed in the manufacture of the exported article, and workmen who furnish the redundant population with the second necessaries of existence. Instead of which, we ought to divide them into three classes; the two that have been already specified, and a third class who are supported by the income of the capitalist, and are employed in the work of administering to his luxuries.

It may be said, that though, after the decay or annihilation of trade, there should exist ability in the country to give the same income as before, to our capitalists; will its ability be actually exerted for this purpose? Their income comes to them now in the shape of profit, upon the capital invested in particular branches of industry. It is a thing they are entitled to, and may be conceived as an acknowledgment on the part of their customers, for the very useful and necessary part that they take in the production of the article. But if the use of the article is dispensed with, there is no such acknowledgement to be made; they lose their title to income altoge-

ther; and where is the security, that any ability on the part of their customers will ever be exerted, for the generous purpose of upholding them in all their former consequence, and saving them from the cruel ignominy and disgrace of poverty? What a scene of melancholy and distress to many thousands of individuals! How cold-blooded the politician that can support it! Let us have none of this unfeeling hardihood! Let us away with this merciless spirit of innovation! Let it be banished to the cheerless solitude of a calculator's bosom. It may amuse him, but it will never, never, do in practice! Let us spurn at his theories, and persevere in the good old way of our forefathers.

Before I attempt to resist this strain of vehement objection, let me touch upon one thing which may satisfy my reader, that the side for which I contend, is as strong in point of feeling, as I believe it to be strong in point of argument. The old way of your forefathers, good as it is, cannot be persevered in. Doubtless, it is an evil to renounce it, but it is an evil that may be forced upon us by necessity. It may be to avert a danger which, if not provided against, would sweep away every establishment in the country, and reduce the whole of our population to one indiscriminate mass of wretchedness and poverty. No, this is not the time to hesitate about trifles.

Accommodate the distribution of your people to the existing necessity. Be prompt, be vigorous, be unfaultering; for I swear by the ambition of Bonaparte, that he will be soon among us at the head of his marauders, if he knows that, instead of meeting the population of the island in warlike and defensive array, he will find them labouring in their work-shops, writing in their counting-houses, balancing their ledgers, and persevering in the good old way of their forefathers.

The relief of our discarded capitalists is either a national object, or it is not. If it is a national object, they will be relieved. Our legislature will decree them an indemnification; and this they will have the ability to execute to the most full and liberal extent. Why are these capitalists discarded? Because their customers have been forced to abandon them. The price that they formerly gave for their commodity is transferred to government; and from the hands of government, it can diffuse the same affluence and competency that it did from the hands of private individuals. The capital ingredient in the price went to the maintenance of the labourers who brought up the commodity. This proportion will go to them still in the new capacity of soldiers, sailors, or manufacturing labourers, in the immediate service of government. But there is also a fraction or remainder of the price that goes to the

capitalist in the shape of profit. This also is in the hands of government, and from government it may, after the trouble of some difficult investigations, be made to go to the capitalist still in the shape of indemnification. But, O, says our reasoner, this will never take place. The relief of the capitalist will never be regarded as a national object. Very well, if it is such a trifle that the wisdom of the country will not pronounce it to be a national object, why should it be made to interfere with any of the plans of national policy? why should we be hesitating about their interests, when the independence of the country is at stake, or suffer the claims of individuals who compose but a fraction of the empire, to prevent us from adopting measures which are essential to its security and existence?

But the truth is, that the effects of throwing capitalists out of their present employments are not so dreadful as many are disposed to anticipate. It will be attended not so much with the annihilation of capital, as with the conversion of capital from one species of industry to another. Capital is to a great degree transferable, and may be withdrawn in a great measure from any one employment for which the demand has ceased, to any other employment for which a new demand has arisen in the country. The same materials that compose the machinery of one manufacture, can be taken

down and made to compose the machinery of another. The same house that gives accommodation to workmen in one species of industry, can be often made to give them the same accommodation in another species of industry. The same vessel that transports to us the luxuries of foreign countries, can be made to transport supplies to our distant navies, which are scattered over the face of the ocean, for the purpose of galling our enemy in his favourite ambition. The same manufactures that are carried on for the production of commodities, which are exported as a return for luxuries, can be still carried on for the production of the same commodities to be exported, as a return for those increased supplies of naval stores from abroad, that the extended service of the country may require. Trade will accommodate, as it always does, to the existing demand and circumstances of the country. There will still be use for capital and capitalists. No doubt they will take a different direction. They will point to a different object. Instead of pointing, as before, to the luxury and accommodation of individuals, they will point to the defence and security of the empire. The manufacture of armour and equipments, the manufacture of the various branches of ordnance, the manufacture of every article connected with our naval and military establishments, the construction of public works; every thing, in fact,

connected with the warlike policy of the country, will be multiplied and extended, and will open new channels for the investiture of that capital that is discarded from its present employments.

I allow that there is always a loss attending the transference of capital from one employment to another. The machinery, the implements, the work-houses of our present manufacturing establishments, though in a great measure, may not be completely, applicable to the new employments which are created by this revolution in the demand and circumstances of the country. There is always on hand, too, a quantity of the wrought up commodity, for which the demand may have ceased or been much diminished in consequence of the retrenchments that a new tax must necessarily produce in the expenditure of individuals. The consequent fall of the price of the commodity is a loss to the capitalist, who happens to have it in his possession. But this is a loss to which the capitalist is at all times necessarily exposed. Every caprice of fashion, every revolution in the taste and temper of the times, subjects you to the same risk, and the same inconvenience. When the country abandoned the use of shoe-buckles, it set afloat the capital of many hundreds. This capital sought for other channels. It accommodated to the existing demand, but with a value impaired by all the losses and inconveniencies that necessa-

rily attended the transference. But the loss, I will venture to say, was a mere fraction of what the buckle-makers apprehended in their first moments of alarm and despondency. There is an unavoidable loss attending the transference of capital from one employment to another, and this loss may figure away to the country under the form of a few bankruptcies, but it can never amount to any thing like a derangement in the circumstances of the nation.

'The extension of our naval and military establishments throws open a channel of enterprise to many of our capitalists. Certain it is, that war is popular in many of our manufacturing towns, because it creates a demand for their commodities, and the report of peace fills many thousands with the alarm of ruin and bankruptcy. Whether the change in the circumstances of the country be from peace to war, or from war to peace, it is always found in the first instance to swell the list of bankruptcies, and this proceeds from the unavoidable loss that attends every revolution in the state of the demand.' This is calamity to individuals; but all the changes which mark the eventful history of Britain, have never been able to arrest the general progress and prosperity of the empire.

What greater change can possibly be effected, in the circumstances of a country, and in the direction both of its population and of its capital,

than a change from profound peace to war, with a country equal, or perhaps superior, to itself in power and in resources? Three hundred thousand men withdrawn from the walks of industry, supplies raised for their maintenance, and an immense capital forced from its present employments, and left to take any new direction which the circumstances of the country may happen to impress upon it. The capital of the country has already accommodated to this great change, and though government were to double our warlike establishments, it would only make another change equally great with what it has already experienced. The transition is not more violent than the one that the capital of the country has already survived and flourished under. It will, as on all similar occasions, be attended with bankruptcies and alarms, and the forebodings of national ruin. But, as on all similar occasions, the trial of a few months will chase away these visionary apprehensions. The whole amount of the change will be what it has ever been, a new distribution of employment among our labourers and our capitalists, and a general diminution in the stile and luxury of families.

A mere trifle, a point of jealousy, the preservation of a colony, and the interest of a few merchants, have been often suffered to sway the counsels of the empire, and precipitate the country into wars.

Will such trifles as these prevail on us to risk the inconveniencies of a change from peace to war? and will the very existence of the country not prevail on us to risk the inconvenience of another change not superior to the former? a change from our present warlike establishments to another more commensurate to the dangers that surround us.

I do not overlook another inconvenience, the inconvenience to which every family is subjected by the addition to our taxes, that such an extension of the military system must necessarily create. So far from overlooking this inconvenience, the great object of all the discussions is to prove, that this is the chief and almost the only inconvenience which results from it. All that I wish for, is, to reduce the question to an alternative between the loss of luxury and the loss of independence. The people of the country must surrender many of their luxuries at the shrine of patriotism. It is here that the mischief lies. This is the whole amount of the suffering. This is the only plea that deserves to be attended to, and not the airy bewildering speculations of those who talk about commerce and capital, and the great necessity of supporting our trading and our manufacturing interests.

The supposition of doubling our warlike establishments may, perhaps, give an air of extravagance to the whole speculation. Now, I abstain

most scrupulously from any specific proposal as to the extension of our naval and military system. I profess my ignorance as to the merit of any specific proposals upon this subject. I will not give a name to the number of additional ships and additional regiments. This I leave to the practical wisdom of our statesmen. To hazard a proposal were temerity indeed, when we are anxious to impress the merit of our general reasonings on the minds of our countrymen. A superficial reader is apt to confound an error in detail with an error in principle; and it were rash to rest the solidity of our general arguments on the correctness of a numerical estimate. Enough for us to prove, that the ability of making great additions to our establishments exists, though we do not venture to specify the precise amount of these additions. Enough to prove, that the effect of exerting this ability is only to abridge luxury, and not, as is generally supposed, to derange the circumstances of the nation. As the country is impressed with the magnitude of its danger, it is right that it also be impressed with the magnitude of its resources; and without pretending to define the precise extent of its ability, it is right to wake the patriotism of its people, and let them feel that this ability, whatever it is, should, if necessary, be exerted to the uttermost.

Men of capital will find new openings for speculation in the extended demand of the country for every thing connected with our naval and military establishments, or, in the language of the French negotiators, the industry of the country will accommodate to its war establishment. Let it be also remembered, that a demand for the necessaries of life, is a demand which no revolution in the circumstances of a country can ever annihilate. The capital vested in the manufacture of second necessaries must be left in all its original extent; and the capital vested in the employments of agriculture admits of such indefinite additions in the present unimproved state of England, as to allow perhaps an abundant opening to all the loose and floating capitals of the country. Even though this extended demand were not sufficient to absorb all the capital that has been discarded from its former employments, it does not follow that the proprietors of the unemployed capital will be forced to descend from the point which they at present occupy in the scale of distinction, and to sink down into the general mass of the community. The formation of a new regiment not only creates vacancies for our discarded labourers. It may also create vacancies for our discarded capitalists. It not only holds out the same rank and the same encouragement as before to the lower classes of society; but it may also hold out the

same rank and encouragement as before, to those individuals of a higher order whom the country now abandons to the chance of preferment in the extended branches of government service. There is perhaps as great a proportion of genteel situations in the army, to the population of which it is composed, as there is of genteel situations in trade or manufactures to the population that labours in these respective departments. Take the army with its whole establishment of officers, and you will find as great a number and variety of respectable situations as you will do among an equal population employed in trade, with its whole establishment of capitalists, and clerks, and agents, and overseers. As a vacancy in the ranks is generally filled from the labouring classes, so a vacancy among the officers is generally filled from the genteeler classes of the community Many labourers, and many of a higher order, will be thrown out of their former situations, but it is only because the policy of the country has created new situations which it calls upon them to occupy. In this general transference of people from one employment to another, it is not to be expected that all will make an equal exchange. Some, in this play of fortune, will make a worse exchange than before, and as many will make a better. This is unavoidable, but still the average is preserved; and, upon the whole, the country would find it-

self the same as before in the extent and gradation of the different orders that compose the scale of society.

It may be asked, whether it is not a great and overwhelming loss to the community, if the value of a great part of its capital is annihilated by being rendered useless? I before observed, that the greatest part of capital admits of being transferred to other employments; but, suppose that some part of it is entirely inapplicable to any new purpose which this change in our circumstances calls for, is not its value annihilated? Certainly it is; for no man would think of giving any value in exchange for that which he himself would not use, and from which he could derive no revenue, which he could apply to no trade for the purpose of reaping a profit, since this supposes that a demand still exists in the country for the productions of a manufacture to which this capital is applicable. But I would ask, what is the value of a capital to its possessor, unless it be the mean of securing him a revenue? and what is the value of a capital to the country, unless it be the mean of administering to its wants and its enjoyments? The same revenue which he now enjoys in virtue of being owner of a capital, may still remain to him in virtue of being the holder of some office in the service of government. The revenue was withdrawn from him in one capacity to be expended on the support of him, or some person

else, in another capacity. If the capital possesses pecuniary value, it is only because it entitles its holder to a certain revenue. If that revenue is transferred to another purpose, it annihilates the value of the capital. It destroys its function of gaining a revenue, but this function is transferred to something else, and along with this function it gains all the pecuniary value that was formerly annexed to the capital. If any person would give so much money for a particular capital, because in virtue of possessing that capital he is entitled to a certain income, he would give the same money for an office that entitled him permanently to the same income. In casting your eye, then, over the face of the country, with a view to ascertain all the value that exists in it separately from the soil, you include the different *items* of mercantile capital in the enumeration. If part of this capital loses its power of gaining a revenue, and the power of gaining the same revenue is transferred to some new office that the change of system creates, then the reckoning ought in all justice to be transferred from the capital to the offices, and the estimate of total value will be the same as before.

The inconvenience which arises from the annihilation of value in a capital, is a necessary consequence of the shortness and fallacy of human foresight, and is quite analogous to what happens in

the case of almost every individual. It is the prudence of a man to accommodate his conduct to what seems at present most consonant with his interest. Could he look forward into futurity, he might adopt perhaps a different conduct from what he has actually adopted, but he is not endowed with the property of omniscience, and it is his part to regulate his proceedings by known facts and known circumstances. A manufacturer founds an establishment for a bleachfield, and invests part of his capital in building. The bursting of an iron ore, upon the stream, gives such a tinge to the water as to render it quite inapplicable to his purpose, and he is forced to remove. It is a pity he should have expended so much labour in the erection of a capital that turns out to be useless; but this he could not foresee, and it were ridiculous in him to persevere in his old situation in spite of his interest, and merely for the sake of giving a delusive importance to his former labours, or an imaginary value to his capital. Like a wise man, he submits to his loss, and if he cannot make a better of it, he leaves his building to uselessness and decay, and accommodates his conduct to present circumstances. A parent may intend one of his children for the church, and have incurred some expence in that peculiar education which such a profession requires. But the prospect of a higher advantage opens upon them in another branch of

employment, and tempts the parent to suspend that process of education which he formerly intended for him. Doubtless there has been a loss of time and a loss of expence. If he had known better, all this might have been saved. But will he hesitate a single moment, when a great and undeniable advantage is presented to him? If he is a wise man, he will dismiss all regret about the past, and adopt that conduct which seems at present to make most for his interest. All this is quite analogous to the case before us. It is the general demand of the country which gives impulse and direction to the industry of its people, and settles the distribution of their employment. If there is a demand for luxury, the people of course accommodate to it. In the prospect of such a demand continuing, goods may be manufactured, machinery may be constructed, warehouses may be built, which some new and unforeseen revolution in the circumstances of the country may render useless and unnecessary. Danger from without may force upon the country the necessity of recalling its people from the labour of administering to our luxuries, to the labour of fighting for our existence. It is a pity that this was not known sooner. It is a pity that any part of the industry of our people should have been expended upon the production of articles that now turn out to be useless and unprofitable. But this we cannot help.

It is an evil that is necessarily annexed to our condition. All of us must lay our account with suffering much inconvenience from the vanity of human anticipations. But it is as much the duty of a country as it is of individuals, to accommodate to its present circumstances. It were ridiculous, for the mere sake of prolonging the function of a particular capital, or of giving effect and accomplishment to the speculations of a particular merchant, to persevere in a system that may terminate in the overthrow of our liberties.

CHAP. V.

ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE LABOUR.

It is astonishing how much mischief may be done by the mere power of a definition. The wealth of a country has been defined to consist in the produce of its land and labour, and as this produce mut be something tangible, something that we can lay hold of, something that can be brought to market, and made the subject of a bargain,—the wealth of a country has been supposed to lie exclusively in the produce of its agriculture, the produce of its mines, the produce of its fisheries, and the produce of its trading and manufacturing industry. Now, it may be supposed, that this is neither more nor less than an innocent definition, and that it were idle to find fault with it. There is no harm, one may think, in denoting by

the general term wealth, all the articles that are above specified: It is a mere name, and where is the astonishing mischief of adopting it? But let it be recollected, that the mind is often a slave to the imposition of words, and that a name often exerts a dominion over it, which all the power of argument and experience is unable to overthrow. I would have no objection to restrict the term wealth to the tangible produce of our land and labour, did it not lead the mind to attach an exclusive value to this tangible produce, which it is by no means entitled to We are accustomed to annex to the term wealth, every interest, and every advantage. It is a word which we regard as equivalent to power, and happiness, and enjoyment. It is the policy of every individual to add to his wealth, and hence, in obedience to this definition, to add to the number of his tangible commodities. It is the policy of every nation to add to its wealth, and hence, in obedience to the same definition, to direct the labour of its people as exclusively as possible to the production of tangible commodities; to grudge as useless and unprofitable every species of labour that does not terminate in the production of tangible commodities; and if labour is ever directed to another object, to be displeased with it as an idle extravagance, or to lament it as a ruinous necessity.

It is this definition which has given rise to the distinction between a productive and an unproductive labourer. The wealth of a country is made to consist entirely in its tangible produce, and he only is a productive labourer who adds to the value of this produce. He is an unproductive labourer, again, by the definition, whose labour terminates in the production of nothing tangible, or whose labour does not impress an additional value on any material or vendible commodity. A weaver is a productive labourer; his labour terminates in the production of cloth, a tangible commodity. He communicates an additional value to the material on which he operates. There is a difference in point of value between the original yarn and the cloth that is manufactured out of it; and all this additional value has been impressed upon it by the industry of our productive labourer. A musician, a theatrical performer, a menial servant, a soldier, are said to be so many examples of unproductive labourers. They leave no material commodity behind them. Their labour realises itself on nothing vendible, nothing which you can touch. After the weaver has done with his labour, you have the cloth as something to which you can appeal as the effect and the evidence of his industry. After the musician has done with his labour, you have nothing tangible to which you can appeal.

The effect of his labour expires with the performance.

Wealth should rather be made to comprise every thing that conduces to the enjoyment of man, whether that enjoyment comes to him or not through the medium of a tangible commodity. The labour that contributes to his enjoyment, though not through the intervention of a tangible commodity, deserves, in every point of view, to be as much encouraged as that which contributes an equal enjoyment by means of a tangible commodity. When I buy a coat, the price which I give forms the encouragement and reward of all that class of labourers who contributed to its manufacture; to the man who dressed the wool, to another who spun it, to a third who wove it, to a fourth who sewed it, and to all the rest who were employed in carrying on the numerous intermediate processes. Each of these, by the common definition, is a productive labourer; because his labour impresses a value on something tangible. It leaves an effect behind it, and an effect, the advantage of which is still in reserve for administering to the enjoyment of him who purchases the article. When I hire a musician to delight me with his performance on an instrument, the price that I give him for his labour forms his reward and encouragement. He is an unproductive labourer by the definition, because the effect of his

labour is not impressed on any thing tangible. It fixes no value upon any tangible or marketable subject. It leaves nothing behind it. The value of every single effort perishes in a few seconds after its performance. All that I get is the evanescent pleasure that is produced by the effect of his harmony upon the senses. But in a few minutes this dies away from the ear, and leaves not a trace of its existence. I have nothing for my price. I have been extravagant. I have thrown away my money upon an unproductive labourer.

But in what, I would ask, does the value of the coat lie? It is not, certainly, the mere circumstance of its being a tangible article which recommends it to the choice of the purchaser It is its property of imparting warmth, and of defending him from the inclemency of the weather. In other words, it is its subservience to the enjoyment of the customer. The same principle that impelled him to purchase a coat from the clothier, impelled him also to purchase a tune from the musician. In both cases he parted with his money for the sake of an enjoyment, and if the enjoyment was as great in listening to the tune as in wearing the coat, I contend that in both cases his conduct was equally justifiable; and, what is more, was equally consistent with the general interest of the country.

It may be said, that after the tune is over, nothing remains to compensate for the loss of the money he has parted with. I answer, that after the coat is worn and condemned, nothing remains to compensate for its price. In both cases the enjoyment is temporary. There may be a difference in the duration, but this is seldom the circumstance which regulates the value of different articles. The musician may return at intervals, and, for the price of a coat, may give many an agreeable hour for many months. The same price may be expended in a single evening upon the luxuries of a rich entertainment, in the consumption of tangible commodities, and giving encouragement of course to productive labourers.

A menial servant is counted an unproductive labourer, for, however much he may contribute to the comfort of my family, the effect of his exertions does not rest in any vendible commodity, and adds no value to the tangible produce of the country. Very true; but where lies the difference in point of value, between his labour and the labour of him who produces a vendible commodity? The one contributes immediately to enjoyment; the other points to the same purpose, but before he can accomplish it, the production of his labour must go through the circuitous process of passing through the shop of a retailer, or being exposed to the view of purchasers in a market. The

question of preference is to be decided entirely by the degree of enjoyment that each contributes to his employer. In the one case, the intended effect is immediate, in the other, a time elapses before the effect is produced. The menial servant who puts on my fire, contributes instantly to my comfort. The weaver who manufactures the cloth which I wear, contributes also to my comfort; but then the cloth must perhaps be transported to a distance, and placed in the shop of a retailer, and a month or a year may elapse between his labour and the fulfilment of the only purpose for which this labour is valuable, the comfort and advantage of the purchaser. Will any man say that this interval of time, between the exertion and the benefit of the exertion, carries in it the slightest advantage, either to the individual or to the country? yet it is this interval which forms a capital distinction between the productive and unproductive labourer.

But the coats may be acoumulated and laid up in reserve for the comfort and enjoyment of future years. It is very true that you may stock your wardrobe, and be able to look forward to the enjoyment of fine clothes for years to come. But with the price of an expensive wardrobe, you could also defray the expence of one or two menial servants, and look forward to the comfort of their attendance upon you for years to come.

You balance the two advantages, and decide, not by the circumstance of the clothier having been honoured with the appellation of a productive, and the servant having been degraded with the appellation of an unproductive, labourer. You think which of the two is most productive, not of tangible commodities, but which of the two is most productive of comfort. It resolves itself entirely into a question of advantage and enjoyment.

It is said of the menial servant, that the advantage of his labour perishes at the very instant of its performance. This is not exactly true! He renews my fire, and I find that it keeps me warm and comfortable for hours: He brushes my coat, and it gives decency to my appearance through the day; and besides, if the advantage of any single effort is short-lived, this effort is perpetually renewed, and through the whole year I find that the comfort of a menial servant is perpetual and uninterrupted. You certainly can say no more of any other enjoyment, whether that enjoyment comes to you or not, through the medium of a tangible and marketable commodity. If I look back, I recollect as great and as constant enjoyment in the labour of a menial servant, as in the use of many a tangible commodity. If I attend to the present, I feel comfort in the neat room and snug fire-side

that my servant has provided for me, as well as in the clothes which I wear, and in the table on which I am writing. If I look forward, I anticipate a constant gratification from the attendance of a servant, as well as a constant gratification from the use of those articles that are prepared for me by the industry of productive labourers. It is altogether a question of enjoyment. In settling the expenditure of my family, I will be guided by the consideration of comfort, and not by any arbitrary or unnatural definition.

But the produce of the industry of our productive labours can be exported, and it is it alone, indeed, which gives extent and prosperity to our foreign trade.

And where is the mighty advantage of this? For the thing exported, you get back a return in some foreign luxury which administers to your enjoyment. If this process delight you so much, why use any of our home manufactures? Should not they all be reserved for exportation? But no, you will consume them yourselves, if you like them better than the article they would be exchanged for. And you will also employ so many of your population in the capacity of unproductive labourers, if you like their service in this capacity, better than any home commodity which their industry can produce, or than any foreign commodity which they can purchase with the produce of that industry.

The distinction between productive and unproductive labour, lands you in a thousand inconsistencies. The menial servant who dresses my victuals, is an unproductive labourer. The cook who dresses victuals, and, after they are dressed, sets them up in his shop for sale, is a productive labourer: His labour adds value to a vendible commodity. The effect of his exertion is impressed upon something tangible, and this something is placed in a shop, and gains a higher exchangeable value, in consequence of his exertions. The effect is certainly the same, whether the enjoyment is administered to me by a menial servant whom I pay for his attendance, or a cook who dresses his article for sale, and whom I pay for his trouble: The effect is certainly the same, but this is not enough for our political economists. They seem to point at some other object than usefulness to the country, or enjoyment to the customer. There is some inexplicable virtue in commerce, altogether independent of its subservience to the gratification of purchasers. No doubt, the consumer may eat as comfortably from the cookery of his menial servant, as from the cookery of the man who keeps a shop and deals in provisions. But then we would want the shop. We would want this addition to the trade of the country. We would lose the agreeable spectacle of so much

buying and selling. It would give rise to no bargain; none of that marketing which gives so much delight to our mercantile politicians, as indicating the great extent of our trade, and the great number of our productive labourers.

A minister of religion, who impresses virtue and consolation upon his hearers, is an unproductive labourer. The same minister, if he concurs with a bookseller in the manufacture of a printed volume of sermons, is a productive labourer. It is not, it would appear, the sacred lesson of morality which his eloquence impresses, that gives value to his labours The lesson is of no account: It is the vehicle which carries it, the book, the tangible article, the thing which adds to the material produce of the country, and swells the enumeration of our marketable commodities. The effect of his sermons may be to call many a wanderer from the delusions of intemperance, or to chace from many a bosom the misery by which it is agitated. But these are subordinate considerations. The great point is the benefit he has done to the trade. He is productive only because he has published. He may labour out a conscientious existence in the solitude of his parish. His example may give a charm to the walks of virtue: His soothing attentions give joy to the retirement of cottages: He may be the mean of training a numerous po-

pulation to the love of order and the love of their country: All this goes for nothing: Where is the produce of his labour? Shew me the tangible commodities that his labour has added to the wealth of the country. If you cannot do this, you make him, in a manner, a useless member of society. It may, perhaps, be necessary to prolong the institution, but let it be done at as sparing an expence as possible, and let us take care how we squander away the wealth of the country upon the support of an unproductive labourer.

The man who works in the manufacture of fire-arms, is a productive labourer. His labour impresses an additional value on a tangible article: He adds to the produce of the country. The value of what he does is fixed upon something vendible, and will fetch a price, if this something is exposed in a market for sale. The soldier, who uses these fire-arms, and without whom the manufacture would be an idle expence of industry, is termed an unproductive labourer. His labour does not terminate in the production of a vendible commodity. No doubt he is useful, and it is for the sake of his usefulness, that the manufacture of fire-arms is instituted. But this seems to be of no consequence in the eye of many a political reasoner. With them the interest of the country resolves itself, not into a question

of usefulness, but into a question of wealth, and wealth restricted to that particular meaning which they choose to attach to it. They annex the idea of something solid and durable to the industry of a productive labourer, because that industry terminates in some tangible article which can be stored up for future purposes. They annex the idea of something fleeting and evanescent to the industry of an unproductive labourer, because that industry leaves behind it no evidence of itself in any lasting or material commodity. It is very true, that the industry of an unproductive labourer may leave nothing tangible behind it, but still it may accomplish a purpose, which, in point of durability, will outlive every tangible commodity that proceeds from the hand of the productive labourer. The productive labourers who built the ships which fought the Spanish Armada, left a tangible article behind them, but though tangible, it was not unperishable The lapse of a few years brought every vessel to decay and uselessness. They have long disappeared from the country, and cannot now be included in the enumeration of its wealth or its advantages. The unproductive labourers, again, who fought these vessels, left no tangible articles behind them, but they left behind them a far more lasting memorial of their usefulness. What! shall it be said of

unproductive labourers, that the value of their labour perishes at the very instant of its performance, when it is to them that we owe the repose and the independence of centuries? Yes, had these brave defenders been withdrawn to some productive employment; had it been their business not to fight for our security, but to add to our manufactured produce, and to swell the amount of our commercial transactions, we might to this moment have been languishing under the tyranny of a foreign usurper; and instead of the high name and authority which Britain has long held among the nations of the world, it might have been the game of continental ambition, and drivelling in the lowest walks of political degradation.

Let us bring the lesson home to our present circumstances. Let us not scruple for a moment to trench on the industry of our productive labourers, if the security of the empire requires it. Let the government of the country proceed with an unfaultering hand; and let the embarassing speculation of no economist affect the energy of its purposes. How comes it, that trade and manufactures should be erected into a kind of necessary fabric, which must either not be touched at all, or at least with the most cautious and trembling delicacy? What is the amount of their usefulness? They administer to the luxury of

private consumers, through the medium of a tangible article. And where is the ruinous consequence of withdrawing our people from this employment to the public service of the country? They would administer to the independence of the country, but not through the medium of a tangible article. Now, where lies the mysterious virtue of this tangible intermedium, which comes between the exertion, and the ultimate effect of the exertion? Is not the value of every species of labour to be estimated by the usefulness of its ultimate effect? Is there any thing in the mere intervention of a tangible commodity, which ought in the slightest degree to affect the estimate? Are we to be misled from our true interests by this wild, ridiculous, appetite for what is tangible? The alternative should not lie between the production of a tangible article, and the want of it. The alternative should lie between luxury and independence. These are the only considerations that should be suffered to decide the policy of our rulers; and posterity may curse the remembrance of them, if they shall be misled from the true interests of the country, by the glare of a false and bewildering definition.

How comes it, that the trading and manufacturing interests should have engrossed so much of the consideration of the country? Trade and ma-

nufactures furnish us with very agreeable objects of desire. They furnish us with dress, and equipage, and wine, and a thousand other tangible articles, which administer to the high gratification of him who purchases them. But are there not other objects of desire equally agreeable, though they do not come within the province of trade and manufactures? Is not the feeling of security as pleasurable as any of those exquisite enjoyments which luxury can administer to the palate of the epicure? Is not the proud triumph of independence as gratifying to the mind as the dazzling array of a costly and splendid establishment? Will not every Briton walk in brighter sun-shine through life, that at the expence of his personal enjoyments he has rescued his country from the grasp of a tyrant's ambition? and will he not sink more sweetly to the grave, that he leaves his children the inheritance of liberty? These are feelings, and they are worth the purchasing. I cannot listen for a moment, when I hear the grovelling indulgencies of luxury put in competition with them. Talk not of the wealth of merchants, and that they must be supported. This wealth resolves itself into the antecedent wealth of consumers. It can be discharged in equal abundance upon the support of another employment. It is only the substitution of one interest for another. In propor-

tion to the diminution of the trading and manufacturing interests, will be the extension of the naval and military interests. There will be the same number of lucrative vacancies as before; the same openings to consequence and emolument, and distinction. The only effect of this new arrangement will be, a change of employment to the disposable population, and to the country it will be the exchange of luxury for independence.

In what way, then, are we to estimate the wealth of a country? Not certainly by the quantity of its tangible produce, for there are a thousand ways in which wealth may be evinced, besides the production of tangible commodities. When a private individual abandons the use of a particular manufacture, and transfers the expence of it to the support of one or two menial servants, he certainly does not become poorer than before. He does not lose any portion of his wealth; he only gives a new distribution to it, and exerts a privilege which undoubtedly belongs to him, and without which wealth would lose the half of its advantages, the privilege of regulating his expences in such a way as is most suited to his taste and his enjoyments. No doubt, the tangible produce of the country would be diminished, for the quantity of that produce always accommodates to the extent of the demand; but it does

not follow on that account, that the country becomes poorer. The country cannot with any propriety be said to become poorer, if there is the same population maintained, and as well maintained as before, if each member of this population receives the same income, and can command the same quantity of comfort and accommodation. Now, if there are two individuals dismissed from their employments in a manufactory, there are two adopted into another employment as the servants of a household. The master of this household has withdrawn his wealth from the purchase of certain tangible articles, and this diminution in the demand may occasion the dismissal of a certain number of those labourers who were employed in the preparation of these articles. But if this wealth was able to support the dismissed labourers, and if it be transferred to an equal number of menial servants, do we not see the same population maintained, and as well maintained as before? do we not see an equal number receiving the same income, and commanding the same quantity of comfort and accommodation? It is in vain to say, that we have lost the tangible article which was formerly prepared as an equivalent for the wealth of the purchaser. We have got a better equivalent in its stead: for what is it that should regulate the value of an equivalent, but the taste of him who

has the power of purchasing it? It is to the labour of the menial servant that we are to look for this new equivalent. It is the choice of his master, to prefer the effects of his labour to the labour of the manufacturer. The latter produces a tangible article, but where lies the value of this tangible article, if not that the use of it administers to enjoyment? It is altogether a question of enjoyment, and in this change of employment we see no disappearance of wealth, for we see the population of the country as well maintained as before, and by this change in the direction of their labour administering a greater quantity of enjoyment.

If the wealth of a country is not to be estimated by the value of its tangible produce, and of consequence, if the old definition is to be superseded, should not a new one be substituted in its place? This is not necessary. Truth is no less truth, though it cannot be comprised within the ordinary limits of a definition, or reduced to the condensation of a single sentence. It may be necessary to include many particulars in the enumeration. This proneness to reduce every thing to definitions is the same with the precipitate tendency of the old philosophers, to refer every thing to principles. It is inimical to the true spirit of the modern philosophy, humble, cautious, and hesitating, which does not disdain to

admit every particular into its statement, however much it may embarrass the speculations of him who delights in simplicity, rather than in truth, and prefers the magnificence of theory to the light of evidence, and the solidity of observation.

The first thing which occurs to many, is to estimate the wealth of a country by the quantity of its agricultural produce. This is not a correct estimate. Two countries may produce equal quantities of agricultural produce, and yet have very different degrees of wealth. There may be a better mode of agricultural management in the one country than in the other. The introduction of machinery into the different operations of husbandry, the number of inclosures, and, above all, the practice of letting in large farms, may enable the one country to carry on its agriculture with a much smaller population, and hence leave a much greater disposable population to contribute by their industry more comfort and luxury to the inhabitants. When the same quantity of agricultural produce is brought forward by half the number, the other half are dismissed from the business of agriculture, but they are not swept away from the face of the country. There is the same ability to maintain them as before, only they are maintained in another capacity, and the country is richer by the whole effects

of their industry exerted in another employment. Every man whom machinery and other improvements have the effect of dismissing from the labours of agriculture, may be considered as a clear addition to the wealth of the country. He can be spared for another purpose. His old employment goes on as well as before with a smaller number of hands, and he, in turning himself to another employment, adds, by his industry, to the general mass of enjoyment. He is as good to the country as the addition of a man to its disposable population.

A nearer approach to the truth, is to estimate the wealth of a country by the extent of its disposable population; but this is not altogether a correct estimate. Many circumstances may be conceived, which render the industry of the population in one country more productive than in another. There may be a thousand natural advantages. The quantity of fuel may give a power to machinery equal to the manual efforts of many thousand labourers. The extent of sea-coast may open up a facility of conveyance between the different parts of a country, and save a great part of that industry which would be otherwise expended in the more laborious operation of conveying commodities by land. In a cold country, a great part of the industry of the people is expended in the preparation and conveyance of

fuel. In a country where the climate is milder, all, or much of this industry can be dispensed with, and directed to other employments. There may be also a thousand artificial advantages; the number of canals; the superior excellence of the roads; the greater accumulation of capital; a higher progress in the arts of mechanical invention; and above all, that mild and equitable administration of justice, which, by securing to every man his own, must ever prove the surest stimulus to the industry of a people.

Different countries are equal to each other in wealth when they have the same extent of disposable population, and when the industry of their people is aided by the same number of natural and artificial advantages. After these, it is of no consequence in what manner this industry be directed. Let it take that direction which is impressed on it by the will of those whose wealth enables them to command it. In one country, there may prevail a taste for home manufactures. This will determine the industry of the people to that line of employment; and we may perhaps hear a great deal in such a country of the manufacturing interest. In a second country, a taste may prevail for foreign commodities. This must determine the industry of its people to the working up of commodities for exportation, and the purchase of foreign luxuries. So many more of

the people will betake themselves to the business of conveyance; and in such a country, we may hear a great deal of the manufacturing, the trading, and the shipping interest. In a third country, such a taste may prevail, as shall direct the industry of the people to those employments, which, by the definition of Dr Smith, are termed unproductive, a taste for the parade of a splendid retinue of servants; a taste for liberal establishments in religion and literature; a widely diffused taste for theatrical amusements. I maintain, that this country is equal in wealth to the two former, though inferior to them in the quantity of its tangible produce. Its men of property are prosecuting their favourite enjoyments; and its disposable population are as well supported in the office of administering to them. The style of these enjoyments is of no consequence whatever to the wealth of the country. Its only effect is upon the employments of the disposable population; and whether they act as merchants, or manufacturers, or valets-de-chambre, or schoolmasters, or playactors, or buffoons, they are equally servants, dependent upon the wealth of their employers, and labouring for their gratification.

The disposable population may be recalled from their old employments, and transferred to any new employments which the taste or emergency of the times may render necessary. If a physi-

cal revolution were to change the climate of a country, and expose its inhabitants to more cold and damp and tempest than formerly, they would not hesitate a moment to accommodate to this change. It would be instantly followed with a demand for more shelter than was before necessary, more substantial houses, perhaps, and a greater quantity of clothing. This would transfer part of the disposable population from their old employments. Certain kinds of manufacture would be abandoned, and people would rush in to satisfy the increased demand for clothiers, and masons, and house-carpenters. According to the definition of productive labour, this would be attended with no diminution in the wealth of the country; and why? Because the tangible produce would be the same as before. The people who are withdrawn from the manufacture of certain luxuries, would still be employed in the manufacture of cloth, or in the repair or fabrication of houses. They would leave something tangible behind them. It can be brought to a market. The exchangeable value of the produce of the country would remain the same as before; and it is this exchangeable value which many of our first political economists have assumed as the measure and definition of wealth. But moral as well as physical revolutions might expose the inhabitants of a country to some unforeseen ne-

cessity, and prudence and interest may lift as imperious a call to provide against it. A tyrant may arise in their neighbourhood, and give full scope to the violence of a restless and unprincipled ambition. In his unlimited controul over the fortunes of his subjects, he might arm himself with the whole energy of his disposable population, and bring into action a power far more formidable than was ever before exerted to assail the independence of nations. Why should we hesitate a moment to accommodate to this change? Should not there be instantly a demand for a greater number of defenders than was before necessary? Should not part of our disposable population be transferred from their old employments as tradesmen and manufacturers, and be made to satisfy the increased demand for sailors and soldiers, and the manufacturers of naval and military stores? But, O! says our political-economists, you would diminish the tangible produce of the country. This is of no consequence. What I want is security. I will thank you to contrive a method of providing for this security by the means of tangible commodities. If not, I must resort to some other method, for without security, I defy all the tangible commodities on earth to give happiness to my existence. The horrors of an invading army, are to me as dreadful as the inclemency of the seasons.

The same prudence that disposes me to provide against the one, disposes me also to provide against the other. I must have an army commensurate to the danger; and till this is provided, I would withdraw the last man from the manufacture of luxuries.

Britain perhaps has a greater disposable population in proportion to her agricultural produce than any country in Europe, and this in spite of the slovenly style of management which prevails in the greater part of England, where many thousands of supernumerary labourers are employed ed in carrying on the work of their farms. The security offered to the tenant by the practice of letting for a number of years, is a very capital circumstance, which contributes more than any other to the superiority of British agriculture. The produce of this country is greater in proportion to the extent of territory than in any other country; and its disposable population is perhaps greater in proportion to its produce. Hence the proud eminence which Britain has long held among the nations of the world; for it is by disposable population only that we are to estimate the power and the resources of a country. The other part of the population is absorbed in the business of preparing food and the second necessaries of existence; and are lost, as it were, to every purpose which can confer splendour or

distinction upon a country. It is to the efforts of the disposable population, animated by the consciousness of freedom and security, that we are to look for the superiority which Britain has gained in commerce and manufactures; and the same causes will ensure to her the same success in every other department of labour or of enterprise to which she may choose to turn the efforts of her disposable population. The same numbers that are now employed in the walks of industry, and give such an astonishing extent to our commercial transactions, would, if turned to the purposes of defence, give an equal extent to our naval and military establishments. The same powers of ingenuity which are now expended in conferring perfection upon machinery, and in simplifying the processes of manufacture, would, if turned to military science, give an equal perfection to the discipline and evolutions of our armies. The same invigorating spirit of freedom which gives such a stimulus to the industry of our people, would at least give them an equal enthusiasm in defending their high privileges from the tyranny of an invader. An immense population is before us, and the power of maintaining it exists in the country. That power is now in the hands of private individuals; but the operation of a tax can transfer it to government. It can recal the people of the country from the business of pro-

viding for our luxuries, to the business of providing for our independence. It can convert the island in which we live from a manufacturing into a military country. It can summon into existence a million of warriors; and throw a barrier around our shores, which the combined hostility of all Europe, would find to be impregnable.

CHAP. VI.

ON TAXATION.

When the danger of invasion hangs over a country, there is a call upon the government for the creation of a military force sufficient to avert it. Men must be had, and if compulsory measures are not resorted to, it is ridiculous to think of raising them, without an ability, on the part of government, to allure them from their old employments. It is unfair to blame the government of a country for the insufficient state of its preparations, and at the very moment repine under the weight of those taxes which are absolutely necessary for carrying them on. If men are consistent, they must resign one or other of these topics of discontent. They must either allow the sufficiency of our defensive preparations, or submit with cheerfulness to the taxes which are necessary for extending

them. For all these unreasonable growlers government has one decisive answer in readiness: You complain of the littleness of our military establishments, while you are the very people who oppose the only effectual obstacle to its extension. We cannot get men, only because you keep them back from us. You retain them in your service. We try in vain to allure them into the service of the country. They are better employed. They have wealthy masters, who riot in a thousand luxuries, and pay them well for the business of providing these luxuries. You engross the disposable population of the country, and yet you complain of us for not raising out of that population a sufficient army to meet the necessity of the times. You call out for protection. Give us men, and we will protect you. Give us your servants, and give us the maintenance of these servants. If you consent to lose your luxuries, we will give you protection and independence. There is a demand for labourers in the service of the state, and there is a demand for labourers in the service of private individuals. Give us wealth enough to outstrip individuals in the competition which subsists between us. Pay our taxes with fidelity and cheerfulness. Surrender your personal enjoyments to that highest of all enjoyments, security; and, in the additional extent and vigour which you would thus give to

all our military preparations, you would soon reap the fruits of your patriotism.

The tax which is paid to government, is always felt and considered as a diminution of income: It is looked upon as lost to the individual; whereas he ought to consider that it is perhaps that part of his income which is laid out to the greatest advantage, even for his own personal enjoyments. It is that part of his income which yields him a greater return of happiness than all the rest of his income put together. It yields him security against invasion from without, and it yields him security against violence and injustice from within. In consequence of the institution of government, he pays much less for these advantages than his ancestors did before him. In the middle ages of Europe, almost all the wealth of the landed proprietors went to purchase their security. Law was feeble in its operation, and quite unable to restrain the excesses of violence and rapacity which prevailed in that barbarous state of society. Each had his tribe of military retainers, upon whose maintenance he expended all the produce of his estates that was over and above the subsistence of his agricultural labourers. The whole disposable population of the country were maintained for the purposes of security, and the proprietor of lands had little more for his other personal enjoyments, than the rude neces-

saries of existence. How unreasonable, then, to grudge the expences of government, which, by combining the energy of all the individuals in the country maintains a security far more perfect; and so cheap, as to leave a remainder to every proprietor, sufficient to purchase a thousand of the comforts and elegancies of civilized society. If government were dissolved, and law lost its efficacy in the country, we would become again a prey to the violence of banditti, and every proprietor be compelled to fight for his own security. He would draw around him a circle of retainers, who, in return for their maintenance, would undertake to guard his person from violence, and his property from depredation. Their maintenance would be the price of his security, and a far higher price, I presume, than any tax which government will ever impose upon any of its subjects. Why then grudge this price as an idle and unnecessary expence? Government is just doing for him what he would do for himself, if no government existed. It takes from him, in the shape of a tax, the price of his security, and it gives in return a security far more perfect, and at a cheaper rate, than he can ever expect to accomplish by his own solitary and unassisted exertions. It guards him against robbery from within, and it will guard him against that robbery, on a more extensive scale, which is now projecting for us among the mari-

ders of the Continent. A tax should never be felt as money thrown away. By paying taxes, I distribute my income in such a manner as is most conducive to my enjoyment in the existing circumstances of the times. I pay for an advantage that is dearer to every bosom than all the splendour and luxury of the world. I pay for an object to which my ancestors before me devoted the whole of their property, and which, if left to myself, would cost me such an expence as to reduce me to the necessaries of existence.

The best expedients for the creation of a military force have exercised the ingenuity of many a statesman. Many a recruiting system has been proposed, and if it fails of success, it is always ascribed to something unskilful in the contrivance of it. It is really expecting too much from the wisdom of any legislature, to think that it shall raise forces by the mere dint of ingenuity. All the acts of Parliament upon earth, with their long train of provisions and enactments, would never raise a single individual, unless you invest government with the ability of giving him his pay and his maintenance. We hear at times of the wisdom of such a recruiting system, and of its admirable contrivances for giving extent and efficiency to the recruiting service. The only contrivance necessary, is to hold out an addition to the pay, or an addition to the bounty. There is no more my-

stery in the art of raising soldiers, than there is mystery in the art of raising shoemakers or tailors, or any kind of tradesmen for which there may be an increased demand on the part of the country. If the expenditure of the country is more turned than before to the articles of a particular manufacture, this calls for an additional number of labourers in that line of employment. The lure of higher wages is held out, and people rush in in all directions till the demand is satisfied. You have nothing to do but to imitate this process, if you are in want of a sufficient number of soldiers. Turn the expenditure of the country more than it is at present to the purposes of national security. Levy an additional number of taxes, and you will have the ability to offer a higher lure to the labourers of the country to enter into the military profession. O! but it were desirable to to have the defence of the country as cheap as possible.—Yes, it is desirable to have every thing cheap; and I think we have little reason to complain, if those men who labour for our security can be had on the same terms with those who labour for our luxuries. Advance the pay of our brave defenders, till it be on a level with the general run of wages in the country, and I promise you both an army and a navy equal to the desires of the most enthusiastic patriotism. It is nothing but the shameful want of encouragement, which prevents the young

pulation of the country from entering into the army. A military life has a thousand allurements, and it is nothing but the want of decent encouragement which determines the young to prefer the confined and sedentary occupations of manufacturing industry. Put a soldier on a level with every other labourer in the country, and you will soon see how slender is that aversion to a military life, which is commonly ascribed to the inhabitants of every commercial country. The life of a soldier has many attractions, and all that is necessary is a decent encouragement to render them effectual. It has more expansion, more variety, more indolence, and a thousand images of glory, to fascinate and engage the youthful bosom. Add to these, the allurement of comfortable wages, and the population of the country will issue in swarms from their workshops. They will abandon their old employments for the nobler employment of guarding the independence of their country. It is true, you may have a military establishment on cheaper terms, but you can never carry such an establishment beyond a certain extent; and what kind of an establishment? I would ask. You may make your army an asylum for acquitted criminals. You may entrust the defence of the country to the most degenerate of her sons. You may make the service of the na-

tion a refuge for the depraved outcasts of society. You may decoy simpletons by those low crimping artifices, which are a disgrace to the government of every country, or you may compel a reluctant people, by the exercise of a most odious and impolitic tyranny.

Every expedient, in fact, for augmenting the army, may be reduced to the method of compulsion, or the method of voluntary service. In the former system, ingenuity labours in vain, either to disguise the odiousness of the measure, or to mitigate its severity. The only way in which the severity of the compulsory system can be mitigated, is by an increase of pay, and this may be increased so far as to take off the necessity of compulsion altogether, and convert the profession of a soldier into a voluntary service. In this latter system, there is no ingenuity necessary. All you have to do is, to hold out a sufficient encouragement. Add to the wages of a soldier, and you will infallibly add to the numbers of our army. Keep down his wages, and I defy the wisdom of all our scheming politicians to propose any effectual expedient for raising soldiers, which does not amount to tyranny, and is to every intent and purpose, as execrable as the conscriptions of Bonaparte. Either make it a voluntary service, or have recourse to the simple method of compulsion at once. Do not waste your ingenuity on the construction of a

complex and artificial system, or puzzle the understandings of your people by the multiplicity of your clauses, and enactments, and provisions. But why recur to the compulsory system at all? Raise the pay of a soldier to the general rate of wages in the country. The expedient is simple, but in its operation it will be omnipotent. It is quite in vain to talk of the inability of the country. A country which pays so well for its luxuries, can be made to want these luxuries, and to pay as well for its defence and security. Do this, and the charm that now enfeebles us will vanish in an instant. The walks of manufacturing industry will be deserted, and the loose population of the country will fly for refuge into the service of government. Armies will rise with a rapidity, which will give confidence to the bosom of every patriot, and nobly compensate for the loss of his personal enjoyments. This is the way to create a military force, and not the sickening apparatus of parish, and defence, and militia bill; the miserable offspring of pigmy views, and fluctuating counsels.

At all events, if men are to be had in the way of voluntary service, government must have the ability to allure them from their former employment; and if they are to be had in the way of compulsion, government must have the ability to

maintain them. This ability, it derives in the way of taxation from the wealth of its subjects.

Different methods of taxation have been proposed and acted upon, and I presume to offer a few observations; but let it be distinctly understood, that though I err in this part of the enquiry, it does not affect the truth of a principle which I conceive to be already established, viz. that the resources of the country are not nearly exhausted; that the public revenue is very far from having approached to its limit; and that it is in the power of government to give great additional extent both to our naval and military establishments. It is not the less true, that the wealth of a country exists, though a private individual, untutored by any experience in the management of public business, should be ignorant of the particular road by which to arrive at it.

Every kind of taxation may be reduced to a tax upon consumption, or to a tax upon income. All direct taxes may be referred to the second description. A poll tax may be considered as an unequal tax upon income. A tax upon landed or trading capital, if it falls short of the revenue which arises from the use of it, is still an income-tax. When it exceeds that revenue, it is the melancholy symptom of a country stretching its expenditure beyond the limit of its natural resources.

The tax on consumption is of two kinds. It is

either levied upon those commodities, the use of which can be either very much diminished or abandoned altogether; or it may be levied upon the necessaries of life, the use of which can be seldom lessened to any great degree, and can never be entirely abandoned.

When the tax is laid on an article of luxury, the subject can escape from its operation. All he has to do is, to abstain from the use of the luxury, and leave government as poor and helpless as ever. But though he compels himself to abandon this enjoyment, he still retains an income to discharge on the purchase of other enjoyments. It is in vain to think, that that income will go in general to the purpose of accumulating a capital. The object of a capital is to furnish a revenue to its possessor; this it can only do by being vested in some kind of employment, and it derives its revenue from the expenditure of those people who have a demand for the produce of that employment. It is the degree of expenditure, then, which imposes a limit on the use and extension of capital, and if universal accumulation were to go on, the increase of capital and diminution of expenditure would reduce the profit to a mere nothing, and all further inducement to accumulation would cease. But of this there is little danger. Let moralists declaim as they may on the power of avarice; men in general have not deviated so

far from the impulses of nature, as to prefer the money to the money's use. Expenditure will go on, and, if withdrawn from one particular set of enjoyments, it will find some substitute on which to discharge itself with equal liberality. If government, then, by imposing a tax on some article of consumption, drives its subjects from the use of it, or forces them to be more economical in the use of it, all that it has to do, is to observe the new lines into which their revenue has flowed. It must extend the tax to other articles. It must intercept the expenditure in the new paths into which it has run. It must beset every channel of expenditure with its impositions. It must keep a watchful eye over the taste of the country and the stile of its enjoyments; for it may rest assured, that the ingenuity of its subjects is ever alive to the purpose of finding some new substitute for the enjoyments which they have been forced to abandon, and devising some new path by which they may escape the severity of its taxations.

A tax upon claret compels me to a preference for port. A tax upon port forces me to renounce the use of it, and obliges government to extend its impositions to foreign wine of every description. I may abandon the use of foreign wine, and console myself with the wine and spirits of my own country. But here also I may be intercepted by the vigilance of government. Another tax may

compel me to take refuge in the solitude of my own house, where I may manufacture my wine, and even distil my spirits, without the notice of the exciseman. In the retirement of my own home, sacred as it is by the constitution to freedom and security, I can elude the vigilance of government in a thousand ways. I can make my own malt. I can brew my own ale. I can make my own candles. I can burn and grind my own coffee, and distribute my income in a thousand ways, without government participating in a single fraction of it. Even if government should succeed in ferreting me out of all these enjoyments, I can direct my expenditure to other channels, and give new exercise to the financial ingenuity of our statesmen. I can retrench or abandon all these enjoyments, and take more delight than before in the elegance of my dress, the number of my servants, the splendour of my furniture. This will suggest new topics of taxation. The system of finance will swell in magnitude and complexity. The expence of collecting the revenue will strike very deep upon the resources of the country. In this country the expence is enormous, and if it could be saved, would maintain a very great addition to our army. This surely is a serious consideration, and should enter into the estimate, when we propose to investigate the merit of different systems of taxation.

The facility of smuggling, and the encouragement given to it by high taxes, affords another free outlet to the expenditure of the country. Every one knows the dexterity with which a smuggler can elude the vigilance of an exciseman. To this you may add the countenance which he too often receives from men of the first respectability, even justices of the peace, and others of the highest rank and property in the country. To repress smuggling, you must have an establishment of officers in every district. You must have excise and custom-house yachts, and every act of Parliament must be encumbered with a long train of precautions and modifications. This last is not the least inconvenience which proceeds from this system of taxation. The wisdom of our statesmen is frittered away upon the sickening detail of excise and custom-house laws. Petitions pour in from the different quarters of trading and manufacturing industry; and our ministers, in managing the interests of an empire, must descend to all the anxieties of commercial rivalship. In the financial code of Britain, there is a complexity which alarms every student of political science, and disfigured at every turn by all the littleness of mercantile conceptions.

It appears, then, from these different causes, that the revenue derived from a tax upon luxuries must come to its limit, long before all the disposa-

ble wealth of the country is engrossed for the service of government. Increase the taxes, and you increase the number and the encouragement of smugglers. Increase the precautions, and you add to the expence of collecting, and of course diminish the net revenue of the country. You must also, if you wish to preserve both the form and the spirit of liberty, allow your subjects a thousand possibilities of evasion. What! Would you have our houses open at all times to the inspection of excisemen, when the most sacred principle of the constitution is, that in Great Britain every man's house is his castle? But even though you were to trample on every principle of British liberty, and beset every avenue of expenditure with the inquisitors of excise, it is quite impossible, from the nature of the thing, that you can advance the public revenue to its limit by a tax upon consumption. A tax upon a commodity is at best but a fraction of the whole price, which I advance in purchasing it. Government may engross this fraction, but still there is a remainder which must go to the wages of those who labour in preparing the commodity, and to the profit of those whose capital is vested in the employment. Government may increase the tax, but the whole effect of this increase is to secure to itself a greater fraction of the whole price. Part of the price is expended as before on the maintenance of labourers, and the

profit of capitalists. Government may engross to itself about three-fourths of the price of tobacco, but one-fourth is still employed in the maintenance of those who work for the purchase and conveyance of this commodity. Now, how can government secure to itself the whole price to be paid for tobacco? Not certainly by a tax upon the price of tobacco; for, in addition to the tax, work must be paid for, and profit must be given. They may screw it up to the uttermost, but there is still a remainder, which is beyond every effort they can make to seize it, so long as they confine themselves to this system of taxation. A tax upon a commodity always presupposes that that commodity has either been manufactured or wrought for. It presupposes an original price which is paid by the consumer. It presupposes the existence of a disposable population employed in the production of the commodity. Deduct the tax from the whole price of a manufactured article, and there remains what I would call the natural price. This natural price goes to recompence the industry of the workmen employed in preparing the article, in the form of wages; and it also goes to recompence the capitalist in the form of profit. Now, government can never get at this natural price, nor command the services of that part of the disposable population employed in manufacturing the commodity, so long as it restricts its taxations to the

commodity itself. The only way in which it can get at the natural price, is by coming directly upon the consumer. Levy a tax upon his income, and such a tax as will force him to dispense with the use of the commodity altogethe. You get the whole price instead of a fraction; you command the services of all that disposable population which is now employed in manufacturing the commodity.

This is true of all taxable commodities. Let government levy to the uttermost on the consumption of them, and there is still the natural price to pay, and a population who labour in the business of preparing them. But why may not this price be contributed to the necessities, and this population transferred to the service, of government? The whole amount of the mischief, as I have repeated a thousand times, is, that we lose the luxuries. An income-tax can be made to comprehend the whole price of the article, both the fraction which goes already to government, and the price which goes to workmen and capitalists. An income-tax can be made to supersede the whole of that complicated system which now prevails in the country, and though the many thousand taxes which are now levied on commodities were abandoned, government may still gain a revenue by the whole of the natural price which is now paid for these commodities, and may gain in the extent of its military establishment, by the

whole population that are now employed in providing for them.

It is easy to see, that a tax upon consumption has the effect of distributing the disposable population of the country into two classes. That part of the price which goes to government maintains the whole of the disposable population that are employed in the public service of the country. The remaining part of the price goes to maintain the whole of the disposable population employed in the walks of trading and manufacturing industry. An income-tax may be carried to such an extent as to secure the whole price to the purposes of government, and to withdraw the whole of the second class to the public service of the country. Who then can say that the country is reduced to its last shift, because the taxes on consumption have arrived at their limit? Is not the natural price of the consumable article still in reserve to be converted into public revenue, by the operation of a direct tax upon income? And is not the disposable population, employed in preparing these articles still in reserve, to be transferred to the service of the country?

That able and enlightened statesmen Mr Fox, asserted, that the country was brought to its last shift in the way of taxation, and he was perhaps right at the time, if his observation was confined to the duties upon consumption. He afterwards lent

the countenance of his profound wisdom to the measure of an income tax: A measure which, in in the heat of opposition to the reigning politics of the day, he deprecated with all the severity of his eloquence. This prodigy of talent complains of Dr Adam Smith for being tedious and formal, and uselessly explicit. The truth is, that Mr Fox could not keep back with the tardy operations of other minds. Whatever he saw, he saw with the rapidity of intuition. After he had acquiesced in the measure of an income-tax, he seems to have favoured this measure with one glance of his angelic faculties, and asserts, that it should rise with the demands of the public service, till the population of the country were reduced to the necessaries of existence. It is very true, that it is not till this take place, that you arrive at that impassable limit, beyond which the public revenue cannot extend. After the tax upon the consumption of luxuries has arrived at the uttermost limits of its operation, there still remains a vast extent of unbroken ground for the augmentation of the revenue. The natural price of these luxuries is still untouched; the population employed in preparing them, are still before us; and while a single enjoyment is purchased which might be dispensed with, while a single luxury is indulged in, that it is in the physical power of man to abandon; I would say,

that government had not yet arrived at the limit of its resources, nor called forth all the energies of its people.

It is not necessary to suppose that the income-tax should be carried to the uttermost possibility of its extension. After the tax on consumption has arrived at its limit; such a direct tax may be laid on, as to take up only a part of my disposable income, and force me to surrender only a part of my luxuries. Still government is a gainer by the whole natural price of those luxuries which I have been forced to abandon. If I spend 500l. a year on commodities, where half the price goes to government in the form of a tax, I contribute 250l to the public revenue. If government should then impose upon me a direct tax of 100l. this reduces my expenditure to 400l. Government only receives 200l. in the form of a tax upon commodities. But then I also contribute the whole of my remaining hundred. In addition to the tax which government formerly got upon that hundred, it also gets the whole natural price of the luxuries which I have been forced to abandon I give government 300l. or make it 50l. richer than before.

It has been alleged, as an objection to the income tax, that it exposes individuals to the unpleasant necessity of revealing their circumstances. It is very true, that the happiness which

fortune confers, does not lie so much in the physical enjoyments which money can purchase, as in the rank and consideration which are annexed to it. It is this which disposes some to struggle with the poverty of their incomes, that they may force an appearance of splendour to the world; to live in sordid misery at home, that they may be able to present a fashionable exterior to the eye of the public; to give the whole year to penury, that they may be able to spend a few days in all the extravagance of company and entertainment. This is wretched enough, and I would ask if a grand measure of national policy is to be resisted, to save the feelings of a few, who may shrink from the disclosure of their poverty; and if every public object is to be abandoned, to shelter the contemptible vanity of those who are ashamed of their circumstances, and want magnanimity to accommodate to them?

O! but sir, in such a commercial country as this, to disclose the circumstances of the merchant, is often to affect his credit, and to precipitate the ruin of him, whom the delay of a few months might enable to retrieve the state of his affairs, and to weather every embarrassment. But I would ask, whether you prefer that credit which is founded upon truth, or that credit which is founded upon appearances? A merchant is in solid circumstances, or he is not. If the former,

a disclosure has only the effect of enhancing his credit. If the latter, concealment may be of advantage to him, but it is at the expence of all his correspondents. It may give him a chance of recovery, but at the far greater risk of scattering ruin and bankruptcy among all his connections.

It is further alleged, that the income-tax is a tax upon honesty; that it is in the power of many to disguise the state of their incomes; and that a merchant, in particular, has it not only in his power to disguise, but is often unable, from the complexity of his affairs, to draw out an accurate statement of his revenue. All this may be true, to a certain extent; but I contend, that the whole amount of the loss sustained in this way, is a perfect bagatelle to the whole revenue of the country. A land-tax may be laid on with impartiality, and this is a tax which embraces by far the greater part of the revenue of the country. I do not say that government should abstain from taxing the mercantile revenue; for, with all its disadvantages, it has been found, in fact, to contribute no trifling proportion to the public revenue. Such an exemption would only serve to awaken the jealousy of the landed interest; though the following considerations, I hope, will serve to shew that a tax upon mercantile income, is of far less importance than is commonly ascribed to it.

1*st*, In proportion as you extend the income-tax, you diminish the amount of that revenue which is derived from the profits of capital. If government takes from me a proportion of my income, it forces me to reduce my expenditure. I make fewer purchases than before: I abandon some of the luxuries of my own country, and I diminish the home trade: I abandon some of the luxuries of foreign countries, and I diminish the foreign trade. The demand for various articles of trade and manufactures is diminished, and trade and manufactures must accommodate to the demand. It will become a narrower concern than before. A smaller extent of capital will be necessary for carrying it on; and the total amount of the profits upon trading and manufacturing capital becomes less than ever. But what is more than this; the capital which is thus thrown out of employment, comes into competition with the capital which is vested in the remaining branches of trade, and this competition will infallibly reduce the rate of profit. If you increase the capital of a country, you will certainly diminish the rate of profit. Diminish the employment, and let the capital remain the same; it will be attended with precisely the same effect. Every addition to the income-tax diverts a part of the expenditure of the country from trade and manufactures. Less capital becomes necessary

for carrying them on, and even upon that diminished capital there is a smaller rate of profit than before. The income-tax has a twofold effect, then, in diminishing the mercantile revenue of the country, and it may be extended so far as to make this revenue bear a very small proportion indeed to the revenue derived from other sources. When the question, then, is about calling forth all the resources of the empire, why should the difficulty of collecting the mercantile revenue, be constituted an objection to the income-tax, as this tax, if carried to its uttermost extent, would have the effect of extinguishing the greater part of that revenue?

In such a crisis as the present, the landed proprietor ought not to complain of the advantage which the merchant has over him. The truth is, that the merchant lies at the mercy of the landed proprietor; and if the latter chooses to transfer his revenue from the enjoyment of luxuries, to the higher enjoyment of security and independence, he annihilates the merchant. Let him no longer complain, therefore, of the income-tax, and of the facility with which mercantile revenue can be sheltered from its operation; let him contribute with cheerfulness and be assured, that if he contributes, his all, the object of his indignation can no longer exist.

2*dly*, The tax upon mercantile income lightens the burden of the landed proprietor much less than he is apt to imagine; for this tax is in a great measure ultimately paid by the landed proprietor. I have been long inclined to the opinion, that every tax falls ultimately upon the proprietor of land; but I do not speak of this in the language of decision; for I would not choose to rest a speculation that involves in it the existence of the country upon a question which the speculations of all the economists in Europe have not yet succeeded in rescuing from ambiguity. But still, I think it obvious enough, that the encouragement to the employment of capital is the nett revenue which it furnishes to its owner. If you trench upon this revenue by a tax, you diminish the encouragement, and you impose an obstacle on the further extension of capital. But if you leave the revenue untouched, the same encouragement remains, and the extension of capital goes on as before. This has the effect of reducing the rate of profit; and the landed proprietor at last gets as great an advantage in the cheapness of the articles which he purchases, as he would get from the merchant sharing with him the public burdens of the country. If the general rate of profit all over Europe is fifteen per cent, and a tax reduces the profit of British dealers to 12 per cent, would not this have the

effect of inducing the British merchant to transfer his capital from his own country, and make some country on the continent the theatre of his speculations? There will be a general transference of capital from this country to the continent; nor would this transference cease, till the deficiency of capital in this country had raised the profits to an equality with the general run of profit in the commercial world. In other words, the profit might rise in this country to nearly 18 per cent; and in the additional 3 per cent. which is thus levied upon the consumer, we see that the landed proprietor is in fact paying the tax which the merchant appears to pay to government. But even suppose that the reduction of the profit to 12 per cent is not sufficient to induce our merchants to withdraw their capital from its present employments, every body will at least allow, that the profit of 15 per cent is a much more powerful inducement to the increase of capital. The tax of three per cent restrains the rapidity of this increase; and if this tax had not been imposed, the increase of capital might have gone on, and of itself reduced the profit from 15 to 12. It is of little consequence, then, in the long run, to the landed proprietor, whether the merchant be made to contribute to the public revenue, or not. If the merchant is made to pay a tax, his profit, in all probability, rises,

and the landed proprietor ultimately pays that tax in the advanced price of every article which he purchases; or, on the other hand, if the merchant is not taxed, the extension of his capital reduces the rate of profit so much, that, in the cheapness of every article, the landed proprietor finds a compensation for having to discharge all the burden of the public expenditure.

I do not mean by these observations, that government should restrict its taxations to the proprietor of land, and abandon its attempts upon the mercantile revenue. It would certainly be a very capital improvement to abolish the present expensive and complicated system of taxation, and to raise all our supplies by a direct tax upon the landed proprietor; but there is much prejudice and misconception to remove before the system of finance can be advanced to such a degree of simplicity. It is enough, if I can satisfy my reader, that the tax upon mercantile revenue is of little consequence, and that, therefore, the difficulty of collecting this tax is of as little consequence; that it ought never to be magnified into an objection against the advantage and expediency of direct taxation; and that no legislator should hesitate for a moment, on such an objection, to concur in a system of finance which is both so unexceptionable in its principle, and so powerful in its operation.

CHAP. VII.

ON THE EFFECTS OF TAXATION UPON THE LABOURING CLASSES OF THE COMMUNITY.

The misery of taxation has been made the theme of many an eloquent invective. It is certainly a very popular subject, and with none more than with that class of society that is completely beyond the reach of its operation. It may appear a paradox, but it is no less true, that it is not in the power of government, permanently to abridge the comfort of labourers by any mode of taxation which it might think proper to devise; that they are the very description of people, whom it is not only not the interest, but even not in the power of government to force to surrender a single fraction of their incomes to the necessities of the state; that they bear no part whatever of the burden of the public expendi-

ture; but that it falls exclusively on the higher classes of the community.

The wages of labour must be sufficient to procure the labourer all those accommodations which make up the general standard of enjoyment among the peasantry. This gives rise to a general standard of wages, and it is not in the power of employers to degrade the wages of a labourer below this general standard. There is a *sine qua non*, which every labourer must have, and which if you refuse, will infallibly have the effect of reducing the number of labourers. In addition to maintenance for himself, he must have maintenance for a family, else it is not in his power to keep up the numbers of the country. But, in addition to this, you must give him more, perhaps, than what is absolutely necessary for supporting the health and existence of himself and a family. The refined habits of a people may lead them to indulge in a certain degree of splendour and luxury; and if the expence of a family should force them to forego this splendour, they will rather choose to remain single. Masters must, in the first instance, give them what is necessary for supporting their own existence, and the existence of a sufficient offspring, or it is not in their *power* to have a family. And they must further give them what is necessary for satisfying any little demand they may have for superfluous

gratifications, or it is not their *choice* to have a family. At all events, the only way in which you can keep up the population of the country, is by acceding to the demands of the labourers. If you refuse their terms, they will keep down the numbers of the country, they will withhold the supply of labourers, and at length force you to submit to their terms. The population of the country lies with them. Masters may combine to lower their wages, but to them belongs the mighty power of regulating the supply of labourers. Nothing can overthrow that general though tacit combination, which is produced by the taste and habits that are diffused through the mass of the people.

There is one way, indeed, in which you may accomplish a change upon the wages of labour. You may in time change the general standard of enjoyment among the labouring classes of the community. You may degrade this standard by degrading the taste of the people; by breaking down their habits of indulgence, and reconciling them to a lower stile of living than now prevails in the country. Such a change as this, I conceive, can only be effected by the violence of a revolution, and the long protracted miseries of an arbitrary and oppressive government. But, after all, you can never carry the degradation of their wages to any great extent. You may lop off

their few superfluous gratifications, but you must at least leave them what is absolutely necessary to support their existence, and the existence of an offspring sufficiently numerous to keep up the population of the country. If the wages are reduced below this limit, the population inevitably declines, and their wages as inevitably begin to ascend again till they arrive at that standard at which they remain stationary.

You may also exalt the general standard of enjoyment, by exalting the taste of the people. In this way you raise their wages, and add to the number of those who compose the second division of the population of a country. It is evident, that they who labour for the accommodation of the labouring classes of the community form no part of the disposable population. You cannot withdraw them from the employment of administering to the comforts of the peasantry. A labouring man, in addition to that food which is provided for him by the agricultural population, must have also a certain number of other enjoyments which are provided for him by another part of the population of the country. Some of these enjoyments are absolute necessaries of existence; but others of them he must have, only because he chooses to have them, and though they might be dispensed with, he compels his employer to surrender them to him, else he

will subject the country to all the mischiefs of a declining population. In addition, then, to the population who work for the food of the country, you must have a population to work for those secondary accommodations that every labourer demands; and that he can always demand with effect, until he has brought himself up to the general standard of enjoyment in the country.

It is evident, then, that by exalting the taste of a people, you add to the extent of that population who work for their secondary enjoyments. You therefore trench on the disposable population, on that population that is employed in administering to the higher luxuries of the wealthy, and in preparing all those enjoyments which are above the general condition of the peasantry. This is a very fair and a very allowable encroachment, and no lover of humanity but will rejoice in seeing it extended. The truth is, that there is little danger of its being carried too far, or of labourers engrossing too much of the population of the country for their accommodation. After labourers have arrived at a certain degree of comfort, the principle of population is too powerful not to prevail over their taste for the higher luxuries of human life. The numbers of the country will be kept up, and the wages of labour kept down to a reasonable standard. The population

who work for the secondary enjoyments of the peasantry, will not be extended beyond a certain limit, and an immense disposable population will still be left for all the purposes of national policy.

The necessaries of existence, then, may be made to comprise every accommodation which comes within the general standard of enjoyment among the labouring classes of the community. They may not be absolutely necessary to support the existence of man. Some of them may even approach to the character of luxuries. But still no master has it in his power to refuse them. The moment that you sink your wages below this general standard of enjoyment, you discourage marriage, and you discourage population. The usual supply of men is suspended; the number of labourers declines, and a competition ensues among the masters who employ them; wages rise, and the comforts of the peasantry continue to increase until the principle of population is restored to its usual activity.

It is for the people themselves, then, to determine what may be called the necessaries of existence. Accomplish a change in the general taste of the people, and you accomplish a corresponding change in the wages of labour. But it is evident, that such a change as this can only be effected by slow and imperceptible degrees. It

can produce no sudden fluctuations in the price of labour. It may account for the fluctuations from century to century. It may account for the more comfortable stile of living which prevails among the peasantry of the present times, than ever obtained in the days of their remote ancestors. It may also account for the different rate of wages in different countries, where the accidents of government and situation produce their appropriate effects on the general taste and character of the people.

But there is another fluctuation in the price of labour which remains to be accounted for; a fluctuation which takes place from year to year, and can never be ascribed to any corresponding fluctuation in the taste or character of labourers. The price of labour, in fact, depends on the proportion that subsists betwixt the number of labourers and the funds that exist in the country for the maintenance of labourers. In other words, it depends on the proportion betwixt the number of labourers, and the quantity of the necessaries of life that are brought forward for their maintenance. And, as food is the chief ingredient of this maintenance, it depends principally on the proportion which subsists betwixt the food and the population of a country.

If the food of a country were to remain stationary, so would its population. This popula-

tion is always sure, in the long run, to accommodate its numbers to the maintenance which is produced for it, in such a way that each individual shall receive out of the general fund enough to secure to him the general standard of enjoyment. But the food of a country does not remain stationary. It fluctuates from year to year, and there must be a corresponding fluctuation in the price of labour. All that the population can do in this case, is to accommodate their numbers to the average quantity of maintenance that is produced in the country. In a year of scarcity they must suffer the hardships of scarcity, for they cannot all of a sudden bring down their numbers to the food of the country.

But the food of a country may be conceived to be permanently diminished. Then the population in a series of years will at last relieve themselves. They are in the first instance degraded below the general standard of enjoyment; marriage is discouraged, and the usual rate of propagation is suspended; the population sinks, and as the fund for the maintenance of labourers is reduced, so the number of labourers shall be equally reduced, and each receive as liberal a share of maintenance as ever.

And the food of a country may be conceived to be permanently augmented. Labourers are, in the first instance, exalted above the general stan-

dard of enjoyment; marriage is encouraged, and the rate of propagation is increased; the population of a country rises till the increased fund for the maintenance of labourers is barely sufficient to give to each of them the same share of maintenance that he had before.

It is evident, then, that so long as the general standard of enjoyment among the peasantry remains the same; the only way in which you can affect the wages of labour, is by altering the proportion which subsists betwixt the population of a country and the maintenance of that population. And even this is temporary; for if you can command one term of the proportion, and either diminish or increase the food of the country, labourers can command the other term of the proportion, and will soon follow you with a diminution or increase of the population of the country.

A tax, therefore, has no effect on the wages of labour. A landed proprietor, over and above the necessaries of life, may have a disposable income out of which he may give maintenance to ten labourers, whom he supports in the office of providing for his luxuries. Government may engross the half of this income, and the ability of maintaining these labourers is divided betwixt government and the landed proprietor. Each of the parties can maintain five, and at precisely the same rate that the whole ten were before maintained in the ser-

vice of the landed proprietor. The joint ability of the parties is the same with the original ability of the landed proprietor. The funds for the maintenance of labour are not diminished. They are only distributed in a different manner. The funds maintain the same proportion to the number of labourers, and they are dicharged upon these labourers with the same liberality as ever.

The only effect of a tax is upon the distribution of labour, and not upon its wages. It has no effect on the number of the people, and it has no effect on the quantity of food that is produced for their subsistence. Now, the wages of labour are regulated by the proportion between these two circumstances. A tax can never lower the wages of labour. It can only affect its distribution, and give a new direction to the industry of the people.

Mr Malthus, in his inestimable treatise on population, has proved that it is beyond the power of legal institutions to administer effectual relief to the poverty and wretchedness of the lower orders. The only way in which poverty can be prevented, is by increasing the proportion betwixt the food of a country, and the population that subsists upon it. Now, the poor laws of England serve to aggravate the mischief which they are intended to alleviate; They hold out a delusive promise of relief to the unfortunate; they encou-

rage habits of improvidence; they offer a security to every marriage, however imprudent, and however unwarranted by the circumstances of the parties; they serve rather to increase the proportion betwixt the people and the food; they make the situation of the poor more desperate than ever, and force the population of the country to bear harder than before on the subsistence that is provided for them.

Now, I offer the converse of Mr Malthus' proposition. As it is not in the power of legal institutions to administer permanent relief to the poorer classes, by giving them any addition to what they actually possess; so it is as little in their power to effect a permanent diminution of their comfort, by taking from them any part of what they actually possess. Government may try to trench upon their incomes; it may terrify them by the parade of house-taxes and poll-taxes, or even taxes upon the first necessaries of life. This will infallibly be made up to them by an advance in their wages. To abridge the comfort of the poor, is beyond the power of taxation. This comfort depends, as before, on the proportion that subsists betwixt the population of a country and the quantity of its maintenance. Labourers may live under a semblance of oppression, and the semblance has often as powerful an effect in filling the mind with discontent as the reality. They may

murmur under the load of imaginary grievances; but the truth is, that the degree of comfort which they enjoy is altogether beyond the operation of taxes.

What, for example, would be the effect of a tax upon the first necessaries of life? Government may make grain an exciseable commodity. It may send its officers into every farm-yard, and charge either the tenant or the landlord with a duty proportioned to the value of its contents. The whole amount of this duty would be deducted from the rent; and, in effect, it would be precisely equivalent to an income-tax upon the landlord. It would not affect the price of labour, because it could have no effect on the proportion betwixt the grain and population of the country. True, the landed proprietor would lose part of his ability to maintain labourers; but this ability, though lost to him, is not lost to the country. It is only transferred to another quarter. It is now in the hands of government, and the general mass of labourers will derive as much advantage from the competition of these two parties, as it formerly did from the original and undivided ability of the landed proprietor.

Nobody would ever imagine, that if each landed proprietor in the country were to transfer a portion of his estate to a son or some near relation, this could have any effect in diminishing the

wages of labour. The whole expenditure, from each estate, which goes to maintain labour would remain the same in quantity as before. The estate may be divided into two equal parts, and the landlord, therefore, resign one half of his ability to maintain labour. But the other half is now in the hands of his son, and their united expenditure holds out the same encouragement, and the same wages to labour, as before. Now, government, with its taxes, stands precisely in the place of this son. It is of no consequence whether the landed proprietor assigns to government the half of his estate, or half the rent of his estate. In either way he transfers to government the half of his ability to maintain labour. He may pay the tax in kind, and put government in possession of half his actual produce, half of his real fund for the maintenance of labour. Or he may pay the tax in money, and put government in possession of a right to lift or purchase half this produce at pleasure. At all events, it is precisely equivalent to a division of the property. It carries along with it no diminution of the fund for the maintenance of labourers. It only amounts to a division of that fund.

A house-tax or poll-tax upon labourers appears to bear more immediately on that class of the community; but even here, it is equally true that the tax in reference to them is only nominal. Its

real operation is not on the labourer, but on the employer who maintains him. Let the amount of the house and poll-taxes upon ten labourers, be equal to the full pay and maintenance of one labourer. Government is therefore furnished with the ability of maintaining one labourer. But whence does it get this labourer, but from the country? It gets him, in fact, from the very ten who contributed to his maintenance. The tax which they contributed, comes back upon them in the form of a lure to leave their old employments, and enlist in the service of the country. A competition is established between government and their former employers. The money price of labour rises, and the whole fund that was formerly expended on the maintenance of the ten labourers, from the hand of private employers, is still expended on these ten labourers. The only difference to them is, that one of the ten is now taken into the service of government. The effect is ultimately the same as if government had levied the whole amount of these taxes, not upon the labourers, but upon their masters and employers.

A tax upon a labourer is only a circuitous method of getting what government might have got in a much wiser way, by a direct assessment upon the employer. I contend, that it is perfectly innocent, in as far as it affects the comfort of the labourer; but it is very far from being innocent,

in as far as it affects the popularity of government; and that security which it derives from the affections of its people. It is incurring all the odium of extortion, without a single farthing of advantage. It is holding out the semblance of severity to the lower orders of the country. It is taxing the rich, under the guise of tyranny to the poor. The poor man appears to pay the tax, while it is in fact his employer who pays it for him. He suffers no hardship, but the appearance misleads him, and his heart rankles in all the bitterness of discontent. Nor do I blame him; for who can expect that he is to carry about with him the principles of political science? He is not to blame, but that government, so unwisely prodigal of its name, and of its character, as to wanton in all the parade of oppression, without the addition of a single man to its service, or the accession of a single farthing to its revenue.

If it be true, then, that the tax upon the labourer is really paid by the master, why levy this tax, in a way so invidious, and so much calculated to awaken popular discontent? Why incur the odium and the appearance of oppression? Why furnish a topic of eloquence, of which every unprincipled demagogue may avail himself, to inflame the minds of the people, and stir them up to all the excesses of turbulence and mischief?

The comforts of the people, no government

need ever attempt to abridge in the way of taxation. A tax can only affect the distribution, and not the wages of industry. It may have the effect of alluring many a labourer into the service of government; but, while the general standard of enjoyment remains the same, the wages of the labourers must be invariably regulated by the proportion betwixt the means of subsistence in a country, and the number of its people.

The income of the labourers then depends on circumstances altogether beyond the operation of taxes, and above the power of government to controul by any of its impositions. The temporary fluctuations in the price of labour depend on the proportion which subsists between the food of a country and its population; and the permanent price of labour depends on what the people of a country incline to make their general standard of enjoyment. It depends, in fact, on the degree of taste which prevails in the country for the enjoyments of life, and the proportion which this taste bears to that principle in the constitution of man, which impels him to the propagation of his species.

No tax, therefore, can depress the comforts of the peasantry; for the degree of comfort which they enjoy, can only be affected by accomplishing a change in the general standard of enjoyment, or by altering the proportion which subsists

betwixt their numbers and the food of the country. It is in vain to think of deriving a fraction of the public revenue from the income of labourers; and it is in vain to think of deriving a single man to the public service, from the people employed in administering to their demands. The income of labourers must be left untouched, and the population employed in supplying them with food, and the other accommodations of their lot, must be left untouched. It is that portion of income which is expended on the higher luxuries of life, that contributes the only fund for taxation; and it is the disposable population employed in providing these luxuries, that constitutes the only resource for the public service of the country.

The income of a labourer, we may conceive to be all expended on the purchase of food, and the second necessaries of existence. There is none of it expended on the maintenance of the disposable population, because it is the office of the disposable population to prepare those higher accommodations which are above the general stile and condition of the peasantry. It is only the excess above the income of labourers, that goes to the disposable population, and this excess may therefore be properly called *disposable income*. The disposable population can be withdrawn from any one employment to any other employment; or in other words, the disposable income which main-

tains them can be withdrawn from any one destination to any other destination. If government were to engross the whole disposable income of the country, it would also ingross the services of all the disposable population, and reduce every proprietor of disposable income to the stile and condition of a labourer.

This view of the matter suggests what I conceive to be an improvement on the way in which the tax is proportioned to the income of the individual. No tax can diminish the wages of industry. It can only affect its distribution. The income of the labourer it is beyond the power of government to trench upon, and an exemption from all taxes is the necessary privilege of his condition. The income of an individual in the higher classes of the community may be conceived to be divided into two parts; that part which is equal to the income of the labourer, and expended in those necessaries which are comprised within the general standard of enjoyment; and that part which we call the disposable income, which goes to the purchase of luxuries, and is equal to the excess of his income above the general rate of wages in the country. Now, I maintain that it is the latter part of the income which ought to form the exclusive object of taxation It is unfair to tax a man by his whole income. Leave him at least security for the necessaries of exist-

ence. Allow him the privilege of a labourer; to have all that portion of income which is equal to the wages of labour, exempted from the operation of taxes; and tax him not by his whole income, but tax him by the remainder.

It is the excess of income above that which is laid out in purchasing the necessaries of existence; it is this excess, I say, which maintains the disposable population of the country, and contributes the only fund out of which the public revenue is raised. Let a man be taxed then by the portion he possesses of this fund; let him be exempted for that part of his income which only raises him to an equality with the labourer, and let him be taxed by the excess of his income above the rate of wages, or by that portion of his income, which marks the degree of his superiority to the labouring classes of society.

We shall suppose the exemption from the income-tax to extend to fifty pounds a year. This is too high an allowance for the wages of a labourer; but if the exemption is carried too far, let it be considered as a sacrifice to popularity, and a demonstration of the patriotic zeal that exists among the higher order of the community, to contribute their full share to the public necessities. If a man of fifty pounds a-year then is exempted, it is unfair to tax a man of sixty pounds a-year by his whole income. He should only be

taxed by his excess above fifty pounds. Let him be exempted for his fifty pounds, and let him pay an aliquot part of his excess above fifty, or an aliquot part of ten pounds. If this aliquot part be one-fifth, let him pay one-fifth of ten, or two pounds. Extending this rule to higher incomes, let the income of seventy pounds be taxed one-fifth of twenty, or let it pay four pounds; the income of eighty pay six pounds; the income of a hundred pay the fifth part of its superiority above fifty, or let it pay thirty pounds; the income of two thousand pay the fifth part of one thousand nine hundred and fifty, or three hundred and ninety pounds; and so of all incomes whatsoever.

If fifty pounds a-year be counted the highest income that is not taxable, because little enough to supply a family with the necessaries of existence; then I maintain, that though the man of a hundred, and the man of a thousand a-year, have each an undoubted interest in being protected from the violence of invasion; yet these interests are not in the proportion of a hundred to a thousand; and it would be unfair to tax them in this proportion. If there were a complete revolution in property, each of these proprietors would come to mingle with the general mass of population in the country, and be compelled to find a subsistence in the capacity of labourers. But in this capacity, they would only descend to

the general standard of enjoyment; the wages of labour would still be in reserve for them, both as an income to themselves, and as an inheritance to their children. In virtue of being members of the population, they would still retain a portion of that food and those enjoyments that are allotted to the maintenance of labour. If the income of a labourer, then, is fifty pounds a-year, the man of a hundred loses fifty pounds a-year by the fall of his property; and the man of a thousand loses nine-hundred and fifty by the fall of his. Fifty, and nine-hundred and fifty, express more nearly the different interests that each of these proprietors has in the defence of the country; and it would be more just to tax them in this proportion, than in the proportion of their whole incomes. It is more fair to take the fraction of what I would call the disposable part of the income, or that part which remains after the purchase of necessaries, and is expended in the higher luxuries of human life.

There are certain other modifications which it might be proper to admit, but I forbear to discuss them. The income-tax is still in its infancy, and I am convinced that the experience of years will at last give it a power and a simplicity which will render it by far the most conducive to the revenue of the state, and to the interests of the people. In the mean time it occurs to me,

that some such proportion as the one suggested above, would tend, in a great measure, to chase away the prejudice and discontent which this tax has excited in the country. It rises with no desultory step, but moves on at a rate which gradually increases with the income. Such a tax as this would evince the patriotism of the great, and the public spirit of our legislators, who, as being men of the first wealth in the country, would be most severely affected by it. It would transfer a part of that burden which now falls on the middling classes of the community, and make it fall in heavier proportion on the higher orders. I am far from wishing to reduce the great to one indiscriminate level with the other orders of society. But they would still preserve their relative situation, though they surrendered an aliquot part of their disposable incomes. Such a measure as this would reconcile all orders of the country. It would completely take away the appearance of oppression. The heavy sacrifices of the great would silence every murmur, and the cause of the country be supported by the concurrence of all its children.

But to return from this degression: When I before said, that the comfort of a labourer was not affected by taxes, I supposed, that the service of government was a voluntary service; that the labourer was allured into the employment of the

public, in the same way that he is allured into the service of private individuals; that certain terms were held out for his acceptance, and that it was in all cases left to himself to decide upon the advantages of the employment, and the wages that were annexed to it. It does not appear that the extension of our military establishments would have any effect, either upon the wages of those who entered into the military service, or the wages of those who remained in their old employments. If the disposable population of the country consists of two millions of labourers, and government engrosses to itself one fourth of the ability that exists in the country to maintain them; it puts itself into the condition of maintaining half a million at the general rate of wages. There is a free competition between government and private individuals. Labourers will enter into the service of each of the parties upon equal terms, and the numbers of each will be in proportion to the funds which they have for the maintenance of labourers. Government will be able to allure into its service half a million of labourers, and a million and a half will remain in the service of private individuals. It does not appear, then, that in this case, war, and a war establishment, would increase the wages of those who remained in their old branches of industry. It is true, that it has the effect of drawing away labourers from

their old employments; but it has also the effect of drawing away, in the same proportion, the funds that were allotted for their maintenance. The number of labourers in the service of private individuals is reduced, but their ability to maintain labourers is reduced in the same proportion. There exists the same proportion as before, between the number of labourers in the service of individuals, and the funds that these individuals possess for the maintenance of labour. The price of their labour must, therefore, remain the same; and the only effect of this new arrangement is, not upon the wages of industry, but upon the distribution of it.

Let us now attend to the effects that follow from making the service of government a compulsory service. This supposition is more consistent with the truth, and it is of importance to attend to it. Men are dragged from their old employments, and forced to yield a reluctant service in the capacity of soldiers or sailors. In recruiting the navy, the compulsion is undisguised: Sailors are forcibly wrested from merchant vessels, and, to aggravate the violence of the proceeding, are compelled to serve under the discouragement of a far inferior pay to the existing rate of wages in the country. The pay of a soldier, too, is inferior to that of the general run of

labourers; and so long as this is the case, it is impossible to have an army, but by means, however gentle in appearance, that have, in reality, all the odiousness of compulsion. I can never consent to call that a voluntary service, into which men are decoyed by artifice, or driven by vice and by misfortune; to which they fly as a refuge from infamy, or as the last shift for an existence; which is held out as an asylum to acquitted criminals, and a hiding place to all whom ignominy and misconduct have compelled to abandon the neighbourhood of their acquaintances. The army is not a voluntary service, unless men are allured into it by rational inducements; but instead of this, the only possible way of getting men, is by tricking them into an imprudence. You beset them in the hour of intoxication; you try to overset their firmness, by holding out the immediate temptation of a bounty; you avail yourselves of all their little embarrassments, and employ a set of despicable agents, whose business is to wheedle, and falsify and betray. Militia regiments are raised by direct compulsion. You then avail yourselves of their acquired habits, and contrive to get their consent to enter into the regulars. A new levy succeeds this transfer, and thus, by trick and compulsion together, you contrive to patch up an army. The liberal policy of sufficient pay is unknown to you: You grudge every

penny that is bestowed on the defenders of the country: Yes, the wealth of the country is otherwise bestowed: It is spent, with the most prodigal hand, on those labourers who provide their employers with the gewgaws of splendour, and fashion, and luxury; while violence, and constraint, and misery, are the inheritance of those brave men, who form the palladium of our nation's glory, and the protection of its dearest interests.

"If men, when they entered into the public service, received the same pay as before, they could enjoy, to the same degree, all the secondary accommodations of human life, and of consequence, engrosss the same part of that population that is employed in providing them. But the fact is otherwise. They receive a less pay, and of course are obliged to dismiss a part of that population, who were formerly employed in furnishing them with the second necessaries of existence. Now, what becomes of those who are thus dismissed? The funds for their maintenance have not disappeared from the face of the country. They are only in different hands, and the only consequence is, that they must work under a different set of employers. Our soldiers and sailors, before they were forced to abandon their former employments, laboured for the luxury of those who maintain the

disposable population of the country. In this service, they received from their employers according to the full rate of wages in the country. But in the service to which they have been degraded, they receive an inferior pay, and it is their employers who retain the difference. These employers gave them direct maintenance in their former capacities, and they now give an inferior maintenance through the medium of taxes. There is still a difference, therefore, in the hands of the employers, and this difference is discharged upon that part of the population, whom our poor soldiers and sailors have been forced to dismiss from the employment of furnishing them with the secondary accommodations of human life. The number whom they are thus forced to dismiss, depends entirely upon the deficiency of their wages, and this deficiency is precisely equal to the difference that is retained in the hands of their former employers. The people who are thus dismissed, therefore, are taken into the service of these employers; they now rank with the disposable population of the country; they cannot now labour for the secondary accommodations of men who are no longer able to maintain them; they labour for the luxury of the higher orders; they swell the disposable population, and add to the gratification of those who have the ability to command their services.

The effect, then, of thus forcibly degrading men into a service where they have inferior pay, is to alter the proportion which subsists between the different orders of labourers. It tends to diminish the number of those who labour for the second necessaries of human existence, and it transfers them into the disposable population; a population whose business is to provide their employers with the higher luxuries of life; luxuries, which it is in the power of every man to abandon, and which, after the struggle of a few months with their old habits of indulgence, would leave behind them as much happiness as ever.

It is too bad that the public service of the country should be supported at the expence of labourers; that they should be forced to discard any of the population employed in providing them with the necessaries of existence; and for what? that this population may enter into the service of the wealthy; that it may add by its labours to the luxury of their tables, or to the splendour of their establishments.

I hold the privilege of a labourer to be sacred. Let him never be forcibly degraded below the general standard of enjoyment. Let him be allowed as much of the secondary comforts of human life as shall prove a sufficient inducement for him to marry, and to contribute an equal share

in supporting the population of the country. I have already shewn indeed that it is impossible to effect any general degradation in the circumstances of labourers. This would reduce the population by discouraging marriage, and of course enable them to recover the usual rate of wages. But it is quite possible to effect a forcible degradation in the circumstances of a part of our labourers. The truth is, though this part were restricted from marriage, such is the strength of the principle of population, that the remaining part could keep up the numbers of the country.

It is well known, that in an infant country, where the means of subsistence multiply every year, and prudence and necessity impose no check on early marriages, the population has been found to double itself in the short space of fifteen years. This proves how much the principle of population, when exerted to the uttermost, can effect, and with what ease it can supply the demand for labourers, even in those countries where the yearly additions to subsistence call for a rapidly increasing population. In a country, then, where the population is stationary or nearly so, though a considerable proportion of the people were excluded from marriage by the hardship of inferior circumstances; yet it is in the power of the remaining part to keep up the full number and population of the country. This is realized by ex-

amples. In Great Britain, it is well known that our soldiers and sailors are far from contributing an equal share to the population of the country. They have fewer marriages than among the other labouring classes of the community.; and more disease and mortality among their children. The moral preventive check must operate with greater force, as they are more beset with hardship and necessity; and the immoral preventive check must also operate with greater force, as they are more exposed to habits of depraved and licentious indulgence. In this way, the office of keeping up the whole population of the country devolves in a great measure upon one part of it, upon the labourers at home; and among them, of course, the business of marriage and the business of rearing a family, will be prosecuted with greater activity. By degrading our soldiers and sailors below the general standard of enjoyment, you exclude them from the equal share they would otherwise have had in contributing to the population of the country. You transfer almost the whole charge of keeping up this population to the other labourers. The influence of the preventive check is diminished with one class of the community, and increased with another. The men, who remain at home, in the peaceful walks of industry, are trained to the sobriety of family-habits, and are free to indulge in all the pleasure of family-

endearments; while the men, with whom you rest the protection of the country, are exposed to all the corruptions of licentiousness, and excluded from those domestic attachments which form the best securirty for the virtue and patriotism of a people.

The population of a country must be kept down to its means of subsistence by some check or other. In China, to save the necessity of the preventive check, parents, if unable to provide for their children, are allowed to throw them into the river, and to extinguish life as soon as it is produced. Our men of fine sentiment in this country declaim against the barbarity of such a proceeding, while they do not reflect that our laws give their sanction to a check which, to my mind, is no less barbarous and unprincipled. Parents are not allowed to make away with their children; but when these children are grown up to manhood, some of them are forced by the tyranny of government into situations where they are excluded, by the misery of their circumstances, from the common privilege of perpetuating the species. The preventive check is taken off from our country labourers; and, to balance this, a positive check of an indirect kind is instituted. Their children are not murdered; but so many of these children are condemned to such hardships as to prevent them from bringing forward

any thing like a fair and equal proportion of grand-children. This check, though it operates indirectly, is no less real, and as effectual in keeping down the population of the country, as if the redundant children of every house had been strangled in their infancy. They are brought up to the inheritance of extreme poverty; they are degraded below the average of human enjoyment; they are excluded from having children, because they are excluded from the ability of supporting them; and upon whom does the burden of all this wretchedness fall? Not upon the criminal; not upon the men who labour for the useless purposes of splendour and luxury; not upon those whose idle office it is to administer to the caprices of fashion, or the follies of extravagance; but upon the defenders of our country, upon the guardians of England's freedom and England's glory; upon those brave men to whom we owe all the blessings of security, and without whom this country would lose its name and its independence among the nations!

This is one of the cruel delusions of the mercantile system. Let us have the defence of the country upon as cheap terms as possible; for every penny that you give a soldier is taken away from the support of trade and manufactures, and from the maintenance of productive industry. This is enough to alarm every merchant, and

every mercantile politician, who borrows his rules for the management of an empire, from the politics of a counting house. If the value of trade and manufactures were made to rest on its true footing, they would never be suffered, for a moment, to come in competition with the liberal policy of a great army, and a respectable allowance of pay to every individual who entered it. I would ask those who look up to trade and manufactures, as the creative sources of a nation's prosperity,—I would ask them to tell me, what is the purpose of trade and manufactures, and what is the amount of their usefulness? I would ask, what, in the name of wonder, is it that they do, more than provide certain commodities for the enjoyment of those who are able to purchase them? Tell me, what more a buckle-maker does to his country, than produce buckles? You may say, that he forms part of the manufacturing interest of the country; but go in detail over all the particulars of which this manufacturing interest is composed, and name me, in succession, every trade and every profession which it embraces: You shall find that the whole amount of the advantage is, that each furnishes his own article for the enjoyment of customers. The usefulness of a carpet-manufacturer, consists in making carpets. The whole amount of the usefulness of a watchmaker is, that he furnishes his customers

with watches. We have extensive potteries, but the sum total of their importance to the country is, that they furnish it with stone-ware. Go over every item of this great manufacturing interest, and you shall find, that the whole sum and substance of its usefulness, is to administer to the taste, and convenience, and luxury, of consumers. It is not fair to make the maintenance of the labourer, or the profit of the stock-holder, enter into the estimate. It is not the manufacture that furnishes either profit to the one, or maintenance to the other. It is the ability of the consumer. The buckle maker lives not upon his buckles, but upon the price that is paid for them. The watchmaker lives, not because he makes watches, but because he has customers that are willing and able to purchase them. It is neither trade nor manufactures that give maintenance to so many millions of the population of the empire. It is the ability of those who purchase the articles which trade and manufactures lay before them. Where, then, is the mighty mischief that is produced by withdrawing the wealth of the country from the support of trade and manufactures? The whole amount of the mischief is, that you lose certain articles of luxury and convenience. The man who is vested with the ability of purchasing these articles, chooses to abandon the use of them, because the higher interest of secu-

rity demands the sacrifice. Neither the maintenance of the manufacturing labourers, nor the profit of the manufacturing capitalist, should be suffered to affect the determination of the customer. This maintenance is still in reserve, to be given to the discarded population in the form of wages for their service as soldiers; and this profit is still in reserve, to be given to the discarded capitalists, in the form of a genteel income for their service in the higher branches of public employment. Let it take this new direction that is called for by the circumstances of the country. The idea of withdrawing the wealth of the country from the maintenance of productive industry is a mere bugbear. The industry of our manufacturers is productive of luxury. The industry of our soldiers is productive of security. The one is certainly as worthy an object for wealth to be expended upon as the other, and let it be expended with equal liberality; for why should those brave soldiers, who labour for the protection of every thing that is valuable in life, be worse paid than those labourers who carry on the trade and manufactures of the country?

There is no shadow of a pretext for keeping down the wages of our military! There is no national interest whatever that can be promoted by it; and the only purpose it can serve is, what I blush to name, to save the luxuries of the weal-

thy, to furnish them with an additional dish to their tables, an additional coat to their wardrobe, or an additional servant to their retinues. It is really a dextrous enough artifice to excuse the miserable allowances of the army, on the score of their trenching upon the trading and manufacturing interests. This is only saying, that they trench upon the luxuries which trade and manufactures provide for you. It is giving the semblance of patriotism to the most unprincipled selfishness. It is associating a public interest with the measure, when, in fact, there is no other interest concerned, than your own gaudy and effeminate indulgences. It is taking refuge under the shelter of a name, which has all the omnipotence of a charm among the politicians of the mercantile school. Yes, trade and manufactures are mighty sounds; but strip them of the glare that eloquence and false speculation have thrown over them, and it will be found, that the whole amount of their usefulness is, that they furnish luxury and convenience to customers. If you refuse sufficient pay to our soldiers, because it trenches upon trade and manufactures, this is equivalent to saying, that you refuse them sufficient pay, because it trenches upon luxury. You degrade our soldiers below the average of human enjoyment; and for what? That the wealthy of the land may be enabled to reserve to

themselves the means of extravagance; that they may roll along in splendour and effeminacy, and riot on those spoils which have been wrung from the necessities of our oppressed and persecuted defenders.

Let us hasten to redress this crying enormity. Let us hasten to exalt the military character of the country, and rescue it from that decline which is the melancholy symptom of a falling empire. Let us tremble to think, that poverty and oppression never fail to degrade the spirit, and to degrade the patriotism, of our defenders. Let it be a voluntary service. Individuals, when they want servants, go to market and enlist them for a term of months. Let government imitate their example Let it go to market, and enlist for a term of years. Let it be no longer a slavery for life, and let the burning ignominy of corporeal punishments be done away. Make the situation of a soldier respectable, and annex to it such advantages as may be sufficient to allure into the army, the strength and substance of our most valuable population. Why should not a soldier be entitled to lift his head among the most respectable of his countrymen? Why should he not feel an equal interest in his country's preservation, and in his country's fame? Why should he not be enabled to marry, and have a home to which the indulgence of his officers may allow him at times to repair as a well-earned relaxation from

the fatigues and discipline of his service? Why should he not be allowed the luxury of domestic enjoyments, as a fuel to his patriotism; and the sacred attachments of a home and of a family, to endear him to the cause he is fighting for? To degrade a soldier below the average of labourers, is unjust, and, like every other species of injustice, it is impolitic. When a young man enters into the army, he is pronounced by his family to be undone. He is given up as the hopeless victim of infatuation. He is condemned to the misery of an outcast, and left to all the bitterness of unavailing repentance. He loses the countenance of his friends, he becomes degraded in his own estimation, and sinks below the level of all his acquaintances. His only refuge is in the indifference and hardihood of his own feelings; he becomes careless and abandoned, and his character gets disfigured by all that vice, and meanness, and blackguardism, that never fail to accompany desperate circumstances. Who can wonder, that mutiny, and desertion, and every thing foul and treasonable, should spring from the rottenness of such a perverse and impolitic system.

The poor of the land are often heard to bless the manufactures of the country; because they hold out an opening to their children, and furnish maintenance to many thousand families. May I live to see the day when the public service of the country shall be looked upon by all its labourers

with equal gratitude and equal veneration; when the army shall be viewed as a liberal source of subsistence and employment to many thousands of the population of the empire; and when every parent shall bless the institution of it as a refuge from poverty, and as holding out a respectable provision to his children.

What is true of soldiers, is true of officers. Their allowance is shamefully little. The burden imposed on these brave men, is heavier than the yoke of Egypt. They are required to make bricks without straw. They are required to maintain the spirit and appearance of gentlemen, without the means of maintaining it. They may be still able to force a kind of superficial splendour to the eyes of the public; but let it be remembered, that it is at the expence of all comfort, and of every substantial enjoyment. Of all men in the world, I should like to see our officers in easy and respectable circumstances. I should like to see more splendour and more respectability associated with this branch of the public service. I should like to see it elevated into a more honourable profession, and that no man, however exalted in rank or in property, should be entitled to turn away from it, as a field too humble for his ambition. All this must be done, if you wish to exalt the military character of the country. You must give an eclat to the military service. You must

annex to it the most honourable distinctions. You must give a genteel independence to every officer. You must reform the vicious system of military preferment. You must banish all political and all pecuniary influence. You must throw it open to the free and generous competition of every order. You must institute an inviolable order of preferment, and put it beyond the putrifying touch of money or politics. Let it be a fair race in the career of ambition; and to every office, however humble, let there be annexed the visions of future glory, and the highest anticipations of future eminence.

Look to France, and profit by its example. There the military profession is the most honourable; and this profession France seems determined to support, though every other should drop into insignificance. The highest titles of the the country are bestowed as the rewards of generalship. The army is erected into a theatre for the loftiest ambition, and the whole wealth and glory of the country is employed in giving eclat to the military service. What else can we expect from this new system, but a spirit and an enthusiasm among all its officers; every heart warm with the images of glory, and the whole talent and genius of the country directed to the advancement of its military science? Let it not be disguised. The history of the last ten years fur-

nishes the example of only one solitary triumph over the science and discipline of the French armies. With this one exception, theirs has been one uniform career of victory; and the wrecks of the oldest empires in Europe are so many dreadful testimonies to the omnipotence of the new system. To counteract this devouring policy of France, you must imitate it. You must exalt the spirit of the army, and this you can only do by exalting its advantages. You must throw around it every allurement of honour and interest. Every species of talent exists among us, and all that is necessary is to provide encouragements. The land of liberty is ever the land of genius. Let that genius be turned to the business of war; and the world will soon see that France is no longer the exclusive nursery of soldiers, nor military science the exclusive inheritance of Frenchmen.

CHAP. VIII.

THE CONSIDERATION OF SOME DIFFICULTIES AND OBJECTIONS.

THE end of all our discussions is to prove that a much larger proportion of the wealth of the country may be transferred to the augmentation of the public revenue, and that, of course, a much larger proportion of the population of the country may be transferred to the augmentation of its naval and military establishments. We have attempted to pursue this system of extending the public revenue into all its consequences, and have arrived at a result, far more innocent and gratifying than has ever entered into the conceptions of those who talk of nothing but the misery of taxes, and the intolerable burden of the public expenditure. To those who talk of government,

grinding the faces of the poor by its impositions; we oppose the conclusion, that the labouring classes of the community are completely beyond the operation of taxes, and that government can only controul the distribution, but not the wages, of industry. To those who talk of the ruin of our trading and manufacturing interests; we oppose the conclusion, that the people, discarded from their former employments, will instantly be translated into the same maintenance and revenue as before, from the proportional extension of the naval and military interests. To those who talk of the impoverishing influence of taxes; we oppose the conclusion, that the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of luxury, and that this loss is nobly compensated by the higher equivalents of security and independence The whole amount of the consequence, in fact, is to the disposable population a change of employment, and to the proprietors of the disposable income, the exchange of one advantage for another.

The author of these discussions has studied every fair opportunity of bringing forward his principles in conversation. He has contrived to mingle with the different orders of human life, and to bring his sentiments into collision with the prejudices of every employment. The general feeling seemed to be, that to avert the misery and degradation of being an en-

slaved country, every shilling of the disposable income ought to be surrendered, if it could only be proved that the whole amount of the mischief is the abandonment of luxuries. But many of them seemed to apprehend something far more dreadful than the loss of their luxuries; trade ruined, the land overwhelmed in bankruptcy, and something like a total derangement in the circumstances of the nation. Even among those who were above the slang of this mercantile language, he could perceive the symptons of suspicion or difficulty. They thought that it might be a plausible, and even a consistent theory, but that insuperable obstacles existed, and that it could never be carried into execution. Some have even gone so far as to honour it with the title of a beautiful speculation, but then they have qualified their testimony with a clause that is really mortifying enough;—that, like the speculation of every other visionary, it is impracticable.

I should like to know where this mysterious difficulty lies. Is it impracticable for the minister of this country to rise in parliament, and propose an extension of the income-tax to one-third, for example, of the excess of every income above fifty pounds a-year? Is it at all a chimerical anticipation, that a majority of British legislators, with a spirit animated, rather than appalled, by the hostility of all Europe, will lend their countenance

to such a proposal? Is there any thing impracticable in a man of two hundred a-year, paying fifty pounds to the necessities of his country, or a man of two thousand a-year paying six hundred and fifty? Is there any thing impracticable in these proprietors letting down their establishments, and of course discarding an immense population from the service of private individuals, to be supported as well as before by the augmented revenue of the state, and to be employed in the extended branches of government service. These are the simple steps to our security and triumph. Bonaparte may shut every market in the Continent against us; he may destroy every foreign connection, and nibble away at all the showy and external appendages of our empire; he will find that he has completely mistaken the strength and the resources of this country. They are to be found neither in Hamburgh, in Portugal, nor in Russia. They lie within the bosom of the island; they are to be found at home. There is a vigour within, that no revolutions of commerce can ever destroy, and that is entirely beyond the reach of his impotent policy.

It is the complaint of many, that they can scarcely do with their present incomes, and that they could never pay an addition to their taxes. This is an objection that can never be sustained,

so long as the complainer retains his superiority to the condition of a labourer. If he has upwards of fifty pounds a year, let him be taxed by an aliquot part of the excess, and he will be always sure to retain a superiority. Let him look to the inferior classes of society, and learn how much happiness it is in the physical power of man to command, even with such an income as his, reduced, as it may be by the operation of taxes. It may not be in his power to pay the additional tax, and maintain his present establishment, but he has it in his power to reduce that establishment. Where is the necessity for keeping it up? Why should he regard it as a settled point; that he must persevere in his present style of splendour and luxury. The example of the inferior classes may convince him of the possibility, at least, of effecting a reduction He is above the condition of a labourer, and he has, therefore, luxuries to resign: Now, he is only asked to resign a part of them: He can still live, and with an allowance of luxury far greater than he need ever expect to be left to him from the extortion and tyranny of Frenchmen.

Such is the lenity of our taxes, that they have never been able to effect any sensible diminution in the quantity of luxurious indulgence that prevails in the country. No tax that government has imposed, has ever been able to effect any

thing like a great or palpable reduction in the style and establishment of families. They complain of their intolerable burdens, while it never once enters into their conceptions, that their mode of living may be reduced, and that it is quite easy and possible to come down from the splendour of their original establishments. Nay, what is more than this: Such has been the growing opulence of the country, that, in spite of its increased taxes, the style and expence of families has increased also, and though the public expenditure is greater than at any former period of our history, there never, at the same time, was such a degree of splendour, and luxury, and extravagance, in private life. It is for this reason, that people, to pay additional taxes, have never yet thought of the obvious and effectual shift of reducing their establishments. They say that they labour under the oppression of taxes, because they labour to maintain their former style of extravagance and luxury. They are not yet familiarised to the idea of letting down the style of their families. Let the great give us an example of this reduction; let them descend to humbler esablishments; let them hold out to the country a spectacle of retrenchment, and at the same time be magnanimous enough to let the public know, that this retrenchment is forced

upon them by the load of our additional taxes; let retrenchment be the order of the day, and fashion be made to lend its aid to patriotism; let every man be supported by the countenance and example of his neighbour; and economy, instead of being accounted disgraceful, be regarded as a part of that necessary system, which the emergency of the times has imposed upon all the ranks of society; and then I will say, that the country is at last coming to the trial of its resources, and government beginning to avail itself of the energies of its people.

But will not the people resist the necessity of having their establishments degraded? This I cannot believe. I assert, that the patriotism of the country is equal to such a sacrifice, and it is a sacrifice far less painful than may be generally imagined. The severity of retrenchments does not lie in being compelled to abandon our luxuries. The mere physical enjoyment of the luxuries, is not the circumstance that affects us. It is the rank in society: It is the consideration annexed to such a style of expence. The mere pleasurable feeling of drinking wine, or being drawn in a carriage, could be easily dispensed with. But then, what would become of our grandeur, what would become of our station in the scale of society? We could resign the luxuries, but we cannot resign the flattering circum-

stances of distinction, and rank, and pre-eminence. We cannot descend below the level of our acquaintances, or mingle in equality with those whom we always held to be a step below us in the scale of precedency. These are the feelings which give such poignancy to a reverse of fortune. The mere gratification that luxury communicates to the palate; the mere physical comfort of dress, and equipage, and attendance; these can easily be surrendered; but it takes the highest powers of human fortitude, to put up with the loss of consequence, and the degradation that is annexed to poverty.

Fortune is desireable, not because it confers luxury, but because it confers grandeur: Now, the tax which reduces all equally, takes away only the luxury: The grandeur remains: It does not degrade me below the level of my acquaintances; for these acquaintances come down along with me; and they are as much with me and about me as ever. It does not annihilate me in the eye of my superior; for he also has been forced to descend, and, in reference to me, he is no greater than before. It does not bring me down to the level of my inferiors; for they also have their share in the work of retrenchment, and are kept at their former distance in the scale of society. My rich neighbour lets down his carriage, and I feel it no degradation to dispose

of my horse, and dismiss the servant who took care of him: He descends from claret to port, and I feel it no degradation to renounce port, and content myself with the wine and spirits of my own country: I am compelled to make a thousand retrenchments, but I am consoled when I see that I am supported by the example of all above me and all about me. I come at last to perceive that the tax has not destroyed my consequence. It has only destroyed the marks by which that consequence was formerly indicated: It has not confounded the ranks of society: It has only made some alteration on the insignia: I occupy my old place in the scale of society: All the proud feelings of my former distinction remain to me, and the whole amount of the mischief, is the loss of a few trifling gratifications.

Will any man have the pusillanimity to maintain, that the resources of this country are exhausted, when there is so much to retrench upon, and such a vast extent of unbroken ground before us for the augmentation of the public revenue; when, from London to the remotest corners of the empire, he sees extravagance in all its whimsical varieties; when he sees an unquestionable progress in the stile and establishment of families; when he sees a thousand refinements of luxury that were unknown to the simplicity of our ancestors; when he sees ingenuity absolutely tortured, to devise

channels of expenditure for the overflowing wealth of our great proprietors.

Such is the profusion of the country's resources, that a mere caprice in fashion could leave a superfluity behind it sufficient to fill the coffers of government up to the fullest measure of the public necessities, and to create an army fully adequate to the extent of our danger. Let retrenchment be proclaimed the order of the day, and let it be supported by the countenance of the first assembly of fashionables in the kingdom. Let them give up their heart-burning jealousies, and, instead of striving to outvie each other in gaudy and expensive magnificence, let it be their study to appear in the truer elegance of a cheap and chastened simplicity. Let economy be the whim of the season, and parade be denounced as unfashionable. Let ladies lend the omnipotence of their example, and charm the heart of every admirer into patriotism. It is in their power to accomplish the salvation of the country. They can shame us out of our luxury and extravagance. They can kindle in every bosom the generous enthusiasm of their own purposes. They can uphold the public spirit of the country; nor will they appear less lovely, that, for the idle ornaments they have thrown away, they offer to our admiration the grace of patriotism, and the beauty of the mind, which never dies.

But it may be said, that the country is wedded to its luxuries, and will not abandon them. If this be the case, let every patriot dismiss his anxieties It is a country not worth the preserving. I thought it possible that such a country might fall because it misconceived its resources, and laboured under the bewildering infatuation of mercantile prejudices. But after it comes to see that there is nothing to oppose the extension of our army; after it comes to see, that not a single interest is affected but their own personal indulgences; after the alternative of luxury or independence has been laid fairly before them, and they still refuse, and hesitate, and delay; let every feeling of regret be extinguished, and let the country hasten as it may to the destiny which awaits it. All that remains for the patriot, is to acknowledge that he has been mistaken, and to resign the delusion of his country's worth and country's independence which once animated him. Let him give up the bitterness of his anxieties, and acquiesce in the fall of his country as a gloomy necessity in the history of human affairs. He cannot controul the elements of human nature, nor resist the omnipotence of that law of which history furnishes so many affecting examples,—that the progress of wealth will often extinguish the patriotism of a country, and that is in the power of luxury to degenerate and enslave the best of people.

Were I minister of Great Britain, Iwould tax the country up to the fullest measure of the public necessities, and though the voice of obloquy arose from every corner of the empire, I would brave it. He stands there, not as the guardian of our luxuries, but as the guardian of our independence. If he cannot gain our concurrence, he should command it; and if he cannot command it, he should retire from the care of a people who are unworthy of him. He is responsible to us, but he is also responsible to posterity and he should never prostitute his integrity or his name, by compromising the interests of his country: He holds in his hands the liberties of the future age, and the interests of children that are yet unborn. He is the last barrier of liberty in the world, and while all Europe is involved in the uproar of revolutions, it is his to uphold the security of this immense empire, and to ward off the inroads of that mighty power that is now stalking in triumph over the ruins of the oldest monarchies.

But if you diminish trade, will you not diminish agriculture? Do they not go hand in hand, and exert a reciprocal influence on the prosperity of each other? Does not agriculture furnish trade with the maintenance of its labourers? and does not trade furnish agriculture with equivalents for its produce? To what does Dr Adam Smith ascribe the extension of agriculture in modern times? Is it not to commerce and manufactures? Before they were

introduced, the whole surplus produce of an estate went to maintain a kind of rude hospitality among a crowd of military retainers. The proprietor had no other interest in augmenting the produce of his land, than merely to add to the number of his dependents. But commerce and manufactures laid before him a more powerful interest. They supplied him with the stimulus of personal gratification. Although he would not be at the trouble of bringing in his uncultivated acres for the mere sake of having an additional family to support, or an additional number of guests to entertain at his table; yet he would strain every nerve to cultivate his land, if the increased produce could be employed to purchase additional enjoyments to himself. Now trade and manufactures lay before him these additional enjoyments. They supply him with the more powerful stimulus of personal conveniences. A taste for elegance and luxury is introduced among our landed proprietors; the affectation of a stile, and an ambition to outrival each other in the magnificence of their establishments; All this disposes them to make the most of their estates, and to force out the greatest possible quantity of produce Not a field is left untried, agriculture and trade give a mutual activity to each other's operations; the spirit of enterprise extends over the wide domains of art and of agriculture; every year supplies an addition to the means of

subsistence, and witnesses the growing progress of the country in wealth and in population.

But if you suffer trade and manufactures to decline, will not this progress be instantly arrested? If you take away the equivalents which trade and manufactures bring forward, do you not lessen or destroy every stimulus to cultivation? Will not the landed proprietors revert to their old langour and indifference? Will not agriculture hasten to decay, till at last there be no surplus produce beyond the subsistence of the agricultural population, and there be an utter end to that disposable population which we have made the grand instrument of all our speculations.

This is the established way of reasoning upon such a subject. The high authority of Dr Smith has given currency to a language that has led to more than one delusion in the science of political economy. The fact is, that there are a thousand other equivalents besides what trade and manufactures offer for the produce of land. Trade and manufactures may diminish, and leave a stimulus to cultivation more active than ever. A tax will trench upon trade and manufactures, yet I venture to say, that, upon the acknowleged principles of human nature, this tax, so far from impeding the progress of cultivation, will give new spirit and impulse to agriculture.

If one of the farms upon a gentleman's estate were overwhelmed with sand, or struck with a barrenness which it could never recover, what in all reasonableness would be the effect of such an accident upon the proprietor? Would it not make him desirous of repairing the deficiency which the loss of this farm must create in his revenue? As he had lost one part of his estate, would he not be more desirous than before of extracting the greatest possible value out of the remainder? Would he not make the loss of one of his farms a plea with his remaining tenantry to abandon the indulgence which he had formerly shown them? And would it not serve as a kind of justification to the landlord for bringing his farms to market, and taking the highest rent that may offer for them? Now, government with its increased taxes places the landed proprietor in precisely the same predicament. This addition to his taxes may be equal to the whole rent of one of his farms: He will therefore study to make the most of what is left to him, and, by advancing the rents of his land, to fill up the defalcation which the impositions of government may have made in his revenue.

If a landed proprietor receives an unexpected addition to his family, or finds it necessary to add to the number of his servants, is it not the most natural thing in the world, that he should wish to meet this augmentation of his expenditure by a

corresponding augmentation of his income? Now, that he has more individuals to maintain and to provide for, it would be a very strange thing, indeed, if from that moment he were to deliver himself up to indifference about the state of his affairs, and resign all anxiety about the rent and the cultivation of his farms. Would not the pressure of an increased expenditure make him more desirous than ever of improving his revenue? Would it not have the precise effect of making him cast about for expedients to add to his income? If there were a single farm under-rented, would not the feeling of his own difficulties have the effect of chasing away all his over-weening indulgence to a particular tenant or particular family? Would it not have the effect of smothering within him all his reluctance to dismiss an old tenantry, and lay open his estate to the capital and enterprise of all the tenantry in the kingdom? This is precisely the effect, which an addition to his family, and it is also precisely the effect which an addition to his taxes would have. Government, by adding to his taxes, adds to his expenditure. By adding to his military establishment, it gives him more soldiers to maintain than formerly. So far from destroying the stimulus of personal interest, it makes that stimulus more active than ever.

A new inducement to expenditure is at all times equivalent to a new inducement to add to

your income, that you may meet that expenditure. The object of the expenditure may be to purchase some good, or to defend yourself from some evil. You purchase wine for the pleasure which you feel in drinking it, and you purchase a house to defend yourself from the inclemency of the seasons. If some new luxury were to be imported, this might present you with a new inducement to expenditure. You might purchase the luxury, and make it a substitute for something else which you would retrench from your expenditure; or, if desirous of retaining all your former enjoyments, and procuring the new luxury in addition to them, you might make an effort to add to your yearly revenue, that you may be able to satisfy the new demand that is thus made upon it. This new luxury would of course be called a stimulus to cultivation, and be hailed by all our economists as one of those equivalents which add to the opulence, and give new spirit to the industry, of a country. But instead of a new luxury to purchase, suppose that some new calamity is to be averted; this presents you with a new inducement to expenditure. So much of your income must be turned to the purchase of defence against this calamity; and for this purpose you must either surrender some of your accustomed enjoyments, or make an effort to improve your income, so as to answer the new call which is made upon it. It is

quite evident that the stimulus to such an effort is as strong, and even stronger than before. When you purchase the new luxury, you gain a positive accession to your enjoyments, and you may be satisfied, for its sake, to surrender some other enjoyments in which you have been accustomed to indulge. But when you purchase defence against a new calamity, you obtain no positive addition to your advantages; you are merely perpetuating a security which you had formerly been in the habit of enjoying. You are no better than you were before, and will not be so ready, therefore, to forego any of your wonted indulgences. You will be more eager even than in the former instance to repair the deficiency which this new demand creates in your income. You will be more anxious to retain and to preserve all your former enjoyments, and in this way defence against a calamity will operate as a more powerful stimulus to cultivation than any positive equivalent which comes to you in the shape of a new luxury. It will have the effect of giving greater extent to the agricultural produce of the country, and a more ardent spirit to the industry of the agricultural population.

It is certainly an inducement for a man to extend his income, that he may have the mean of purchasing some new luxuries which are presented to him. But he has certainly a far more powerful inducement to extend it, when this income is

so trenched upon by some unforeseen necessity, as to threaten him with the loss of his old luxuries. In the one case, he is tempted to extend his income for the sake of some new and untried indulgence. In the other case, he is tempted to extend his income, that he may preserve all those old indulgences which habit has endeared to him, and which would require a struggle with the most inveterate principles of his nature before he could willingly abandon them. The Highland proprietors of Scotland furnish us with an example of the very languid operation of those positive equivalents which are so much insisted upon by our political writers. Since the year 1745, they have all of them had a fair opportunity of adding to the rental of their estates, and of adding to their own personal enjoyments. They have all had a market before them ready to receive every addition which they might make to their surplus produce, and to send back any equivalent which they might choose to purchase with it. Yet, in spite of all these inducements, the greater part of them were seen to scruple and hesitate, and defer; and even to this hour many of their estates are much underrented; and their proprietors have withstood the temptation of every positive equivalent which has been presented to them for more than half a century. Bring these proprietors under the operation of a tax which would wrest from them half their incomes, and I venture to say, that the sti-

mulus of personal interest would do more in one single year than it has already done in twenty. Anxiety to extend your enjoyments, though a very powerful principle, is not half so much so, as anxiety to retain those enjoyments which you already have. A man may satisfy himself with his present establishment, and make no great effort to have it elevated. But though not disposed to make a great effort to extend his establishment, he will make every effort to prevent its being degraded. A landed proprietor may not raise his rents for the mere sake of adding to his enjoyments; but he will infallibly raise them, rather than be forced to renounce any of those enjoyments to which he has been habituated.

Now, this is precisely the stimulus to agriculture, which is most wanted in the present circumstances of England. The great majority of English farms is under-rented, even in spite of all those unfortunate burdens with which the agriculture of the country is encumbered. A number of ridiculous expences attends the farm-management of England. These you can force the tenantry to do away, by advancing their rents, and giving them a strong application of the stimulus. The wealthy proprietors stand much in need of a pretty smart application of the same kind. It were much to be wished, that they could be prevailed upon to give up that ruinous

practice of frittering down their princely domains into paltry life-holds of forty shillings a year; a practice so much against their own revenue, and the agricultural produce of the country. They now sacrifice their interest to their politics: let them be made to sacrifice their politics to their interest; and this, I believe, can only be done by letting them feel the stimulus, or, in other words, by taxing them up to the fullest measure of the public necessities. Would they only throw open their farms to the public, and invite the free competition of all the capital and intelligence in the country, the consequent advance in their rents would be more than sufficient to meet the extended taxes, and the consequent increase of agricultural produce would in time create a population more than sufficient to supply the place of that disposable population which may be withdrawn to the service of government.

It may here be observed, that the anticipations of those people are groundless, who conceive, that a very great extension of our taxes would have the effect of giving a totally different aspect to the country, and of revolutionizing the system which at present prevails in it. There is no doubt, that, in the first instance, it would have the effect of giving great additional extent to every department of the public service, and of withdrawing a numerous population from the employment of

administering to the luxury of individuals to the employment of labouring for the security and aggrandisement of the empire. But such are the agricultural resources of England, that, under an active and improved system of farm-management, a quantity of surplus produce would be almost immediately brought forward, exceeding any thing we can venture to calculate; the population of the country would necessarily keep pace with its augmented substance, and, in the course of a few years, we might behold as great a population as ever in the various walks of trading and manufacturing industry.

On such a subject as this, it is impossible to meet delusion and prejudice in all their varieties, without being exposed to the necessity of repeating the same argument. Where, says the landed proprietor, is the market for our grain, if you destroy the manufactures of the country? I receive my rent from my tenant, and he receives his ability to pay me from the price paid by manufacturers for his produce. And whence, I would ask, do manufacturers receive this ability? Not certainly from their work, but from the price that is paid for it. Let that price, then, be given them for another service, and they shall still have the same ability, and open as extensive a market for grain as ever. The market for grain depends upon the number, and not upon the employment

of the population. A hundred thousand soldiers, at two shillings a-day each, create as effectual a demand for the grain of the country, as a hundred thousand workmen with the same wages. The demand for grain depends upon the appetite for food; and there is surely nothing in the mere change of employment to extinguish this appetite. A manufacturing village raises the value of the land, which is contiguous to it. So does a permanent encampment of soldiers; the establishment of barracks, or any other military station which you choose to specify.

The tenant gives you surplus produce in the form of rent, and you give part of this surplus produce to manufacturers for certain articles of convenience and luxury. If you choose to dispense with these articles, and give the price of them to government, you make soldiers of these manufacturers, and the circulation goes on with as great activity as before. The tenant still continues to give you the same quantity of surplus produce, and you, through the medium of government, still continue to give the same part of it to your old friends, the manufacturers, who are now, it seems, transformed into soldiers, in consequence of this new change in the system of the country. There is the same briskness of circulation going on as ever; only the circulation has a different object, and is set a-going for a

different purpose. The equivalent which you receive for your agricultural produce, does not come to you as before in the shape of a tangible commodity; but comes to you, in the no less solid advantages of independence to your country, and security to yourself from the violence of invaders.

But it is not the agricultural produce that the landlord thinks of; it is the money which he receives from his tenant; and the idea, that it is our trade which brings all the money into the country, serves to nourish the delusion of his being totally dependent upon the commerce and manufactures of the country. We allow, that trade is necessary to bring money into the country, in the same way that it is necessary to bring wine or oranges, or any other foreign commodity into the country To pay for this money, this gold and silver which go to the support of the circulating medium, you must continue to work up commodities and employ so many thousands of your population for this purpose. The gold and silver will come into the country as before, in sufficient quantity for all the purposes of circulation. Your tenant will be as able to give money as ever, and you, instead of agricultural produce, will give part of this money to government. From its hands it passes to soldiers, who fight for your se-

curity, instead of passing as before to manufacturers who wrought up your luxuries; and these soldiers will come back upon your tenant, and give him as good a price for the produce of his farm as ever the manufacturers did. But, do not these manufacturers bring money into the country? No! The manufacturers, whom you have dismissed from your service, spent the whole force of their industry in labouring for your gratification. The manufacturers who bring money into the country, form a different description of workmen altogether. They do not exceed a few thousands, and are a perfect bagatelle to the as many hundred thousands who labour in administering to your luxuries, and whom you can transfer to the service of government, without a single other inconvenience being incurred, than the loss of these luxuries.

I have perhaps gone too far in the work of combating objections. The truth is, that there is no end of them in a country where every man is a political reasoner, and where the orator of every company brings forward his crude and unsettled conceptions with all the confidence of a statesman. One man asserts, that the country is kept alive by the balance of trade being in its favour. Another asks you how you dispose of the national debt, and what place you make it to occupy in your new speculation? Another says, that the

country stands upon its paper circulation; and in this way, you have to encounter a host of innumerable difficulties, which it is impossible to silence without going at large over the most elementary discussions in political science.

There is one objection, not to the argument, but to the spirit of his performance, which the author cannot pass unnoticed, as if it savoured of disrespect to the mercantile class of the community. It were idle, as well as false to touch, with the slightest degree of severity on the character of merchants, with so many thousand examples before us of that intelligence, liberality and expansion, of mind which are to be met with among the merchants of this country. A mercantile prejudice is not more peculiar to merchants than it is to statesmen, or landed proprietors, or any other class and profession of his Majesty's subjects whom you choose to condescend upon. It is not the merchant whom we charge with the narrowness of mercantile conceptions: It is the mercantile politician; the being who confounds the politics of a nation with the politics of a counting-house; who, with no other ideas than those of trade and merchandise, aspires to the management of an empire; who likens the country to a shop, which can only be upheld by the extent of its sales, and the number of its customers; instead of likening it to a great family, where all the members, and

merchants among the rest, must be made to accommodate their employments to the present circumstances, and the present emergency.

CONCLUSION.

Let us suppose, that a gentleman's estate is situated upon the sea coast, and that, from its level situation, it may come in time to be exposed to the influx of the waters. It is conceivable that a permanent elevation may take place on the surface of the ocean, and that, unless the necessary precautions are resorted to by the owner, it may in time make such an encroachment upon the land, as to annihilate his whole property. Two expedients may be proposed for saving the estate. The first is, to reduce the sea to its former level: The second is to throw an embankment along the beach and defend his territory from its encroachments. The first expedient is visionary and impracticable: The second is more likely of success. He cannot destroy

the cause; but this is no reason why he should not try to defend himself from the effects of it. He cannot reduce the elevation of the water; but this is no reason why he should not try to prevent the elevation from spreading over upon him, and to save himself from that ruin which inevitably awaits him, if he looks on, an unconcerned spectator, without defence and without preparation.

What is true of one estate is true of all the estates of an empire. A whole country may be threatened, not perhaps with an inundation of the sea, but with the no less dreadful inundation of human violence and human ambition. A power may arise in its neighbourhood, and this power be as much beyond the controul of human resistance, as are the elements of nature. It may be as vain to think of reducing the power, as it is in vain to think of taking away a single foot from the level of the ocean. But though we cannot reduce the power, we may defend ourselves from the violence of its outrages. We may throw an embankment around us. We may entrench ourselves in the security of a defensive warfare. We may raise, not an army for attack; but an army for protection; and though to reduce the power of the enemy were a hopeless and impracticable undertaking; yet it may be no

less true, that war and a war establishment, form the sound policy and interest of the country.

In our war with revolutionary France, our first attempt was to reduce the power of the enemy. We attempted invasion, and were baffled. We attempted to combine all Europe, and this proved equally abortive. France has the whole continent under its feet; and we have now the spectacle before us of an immense military power, headed by an individual, who has not a wish unsatisfied but the ruin and overthrow of this country, and who, in the brilliant career of his past victories, has given so many dreadful testimonies to the omnipotence of his genius.

I have not heard a single argument from the advocates for peace, which I would not convert into an argument for war. They pretend, that war is without a cause, and without an object, because you cannot destroy the power of Bonaparte. They may as well say, that the embankment upon a coast is without a cause, and without an object, because it cannot reduce the elevation of the sea. It is the elevation of the sea which is the cause of the embankment; and it is the power of Bonaparte which is the cause of our naval and military establishments. The object of the embankment is not to sink the level of the sea, for this is impracticable. It is to keep the sea out and prevent it from overwhelming

my property. The object of our warlike politics is not to destroy the power of the enemy, for this perhaps is impracticable. The object is purely defensive. It is to keep off the inroads of that power. Is a landed proprietor to resign himself to inactivity because he cannot depress the surface of the ocean, when he has the obvious shift before him of raising an embankment to defend his property from its encroachments? Or, is a country to resign itself to the cowardice of despair, because it cannot destroy the resources of its enemy, when it has an immense disposable population, ready to be employed in the business of defending it from the violence of invaders.

Though peace were made at this moment, could that legislator be esteemed the friend of his country who, in the present aspect of Europe, would propose to dismantle a single ship, or disband a single regiment? To let down the establishments of the country, would be to weaken or to lower the embankment; and what, I would ask, is the object of peace, but to relieve us from the heavy expenditure of war? Peace, at such a moment as this, would be the mockery of a name. It would not, or it ought not to alleviate the weight of our taxations, and it would allow facilities to the ambition of our enemy, which war enables us to withhold from him.

But when is this warlike system to have an end, and how long will the country be able to support it? For an answer to this question, I refer to my former example of a landed proprietor. His embankment is never to be let down, so long as the sea retains its new elevation; and this embankment, it is still his interest to maintain, till the expence of repairing it, comes to equal the free rent of his estate. The whole produce of his estate goes to feed a certain population. One part of this population is employed in cultivating the land, and their food is included in the expences of farm-management. Another part of this population is employed in providing the agricultural labourers with the secondary accommodations of their lot, and their food forms also a necessary part of the expence of farm management. Almost all the remaining part of the food produced on the estate, belongs to the landlord, as his rent; and it is chiefly expended on the subsistence of a population who are employed in the office of providing him with luxuries. If threatened with an inundation from the sea, he withdraws part of his rent from the purchase of luxuries, and lays it out on the expence of an embankment; or, in other words, he withdraws his disposable population from the office of providing him with luxuries, to the office of constructing an embankment, and keeping it in ne-

cessary repair. The sea may be adding to its encroachments every year, and he find it necessary to add to the expence of defending his property against it. But it is still his interest to persevere, so long as this expence falls short of his rent. He will not abandon his property, so long as he can enjoy a free remainder of its income. He may not retain the whole, but his estate is still an object to him, so long as it yields him a fraction; and it is not, till forced to surrender this fraction, that he can pronounce it a losing concern. The expence of keeping up his embankment, added to the expence of farm management, may come in time to be equal to the whole produce of the land; its proprietor may be forced to resign the last shilling of his revenue, and withdraw the last man of his disposable population, from the office of providing him with luxuries, to the office of repairing and fortifying his embankment; and it is then, and not till then, that he will resign his concern, and abandon his estate to the ruin which inevitably awaits it.

This reasoning is applicable, in all its parts, to the case of a country threatened, by a powerful and ambitious enemy, with the ruin of its independence. It must resort to measures of security, nor has it arrived at the limit of its exertions, till it has nearly expended every shilling of its disposable income, on the purchase of defence,

and withdrawn the last man of its disposable population to the naval and military establishments. And we never were at a greater distance from the limit, than at this moment. It is true that the public expenditure has been raised to a height beyond all former example; but it is also true, that the natural progress of the country in wealth and population has outstripped it. It is true, that there never was such a numerous population employed in the different departments of the public service; but it is also true, that there never was such a surplus of the disposable population in reserve, for giving still greater extent and addition to these employments. We are at greater expence than ever, in keeping up the embankment, but in spite of this expence, we are richer than ever. The rent is increased in such a way, as to leave us a far greater reversion than formerly, and in spite of the number that has been transferred to the service of government, we have a greater population than before employed in the private service of individuals.

So far, then, from having approached to the limit of our exertions, this limit has in fact receded from us, and it now stands at a greater distance than ever. In opposition to all the advocates of political despondency, I contend, that the country was never so full of resources as at this moment, and never so prepared to embark in a war unex-

ampled in its magnitude, and, if you choose, indefinite in its duration. The only thing to be apprehended is, that the legislators of the country may suffer themselves to be hurried away by their mercantile delusions; may identify the strength of the nation with the extent of its manufactures; stand alarmed at the innocent phantom of our commercial embarrassments; interpret the temporary inconvenience which ever attends a change of employment into a symptom of impending annihilation; give way to the momentary outcry of merchants and manufacturers; and, in pity to our discarded workmen and discarded capitalists, court the precarious security of a peace; when in fact every individual may receive a full compensation in the warlike establishments of the country; and, instead of being a weight and an embarrassment upon the nation, may be converted into the instruments of its power and political independence.

Thus far have I pursued the analogy between a landed proprietor, who throws an embankment around him to defend his property from the inundation of the sea, and a country which raises a military establishment, to defend it from the violence of invaders. But there is one point in which the analogy fails. The former provides against a physical necessity which may exist for ever. The latter provides against a moral necessity, which the course of a few years may bring to its conclusion.

The one is constant and irresistible as are the elements of nature: The other is fleeting and evanescent as the mutability of human affairs. The expence of keeping up the embankment is a permanent burden upon the estate; for the sea may retain its elevation for ever, or subside perhaps to its former level after the slow revolution of many centuries. The expence of keeping up a military establishment is a temporary burden upon the country; for the power of the enemy may expire with the breath of an individual, or be destroyed amid those incessant fluctuations which are always taking place in the history of the world. The owner of the estate, to save it from ruin, will submit to a yearly burden, from which he has no hope of ever being relieved; and even though that ruin were inevitable, he will cling to his property till forced to resign the last shilling of his rent to the expence of defending it. And will not we cling to our country, and, if necessary, resign the last shilling of our disposable incomes, to the expence of defending it from the dreadful visitation of a tyrant's cruelty? In so doing, we only surrender the luxury of a few years; we submit to a temporary sacrifice; we withdraw the disposable population for a time from the office of administering to our enjoyments; and, after they have accomplished their object, they can be again recalled to their former branches of industry, and ad-

minister to us, in as great abundance as ever, all the comforts and elegancies of civilized society.

Britain is now called upon to act a brilliant part in the history of the world. She is not able to revolutionize Europe, but she is able to hold out to her the example of an independent country. She is able to perpetuate in the world the only remnant of liberty that exists in it, and to present to the weary eye one bright spot in the troubled theatre of political affairs. Were it a total extinction of liberty, its cause might be desperate and irrecoverable; ages to come might lie buried under the violence of a rude and unsettled despotism, and the better days of man might die away from the memory of the species. But there is some ground for anticipation to build upon, when we reflect, that there still exists in the world one solitary asylum for the principles of liberty; that there remains one animating example for the nations of Europe to appeal to; that the time may yet come, when this example shall have its influence, when there shall be some new fluctuation in the tide of human affairs; when this awful storm shall blow over, and the sunshine of happier days shall smile upon our children *.

* Grant me patience, when I think of the spurious patriotism of those whose only delight is to expatiate on

the imbecillity of their country, and whose only music is the melancholy whimper of a poor and pitiful despondency. They tell us that France has prevailed, even though we had Europe on our side; and that we have now to contend with France, when all Europe is against us. But they overlook one capital circumstance. In reference to France, it was a defensive warfare: She fought at home, and in such an animating cause as that of existence, she could call out all the energy of her disposable population. In the wild uproar of the revolution, trade and manufactures had been swept away from the face of the country; an immense population was thrown afloat, and that derangement in their commercial system, which afforded such triumph to our miserable calculators, is the very circumstance to which France stands indebted for the illustrious eminence which she now occupies. This population was transferred to the purposes of defence; and it accounts for the rapid appearance of those numerous armies which gave such perplexity and astonishment to the politicians of the mercantile school,—a set of beings, who conceive that there is no other way of upholding a military establishment, but by bales of merchandise, which yield a centage to the revenue. In reference to the belligerent powers, again, the war was offensive; there had been no derangement that could give them the command of a loose population thrown out of their former employments; the old system of trade and manufactures was perpetuated,

and the main force of the disposable population was expended, as before, in the work of administering to the luxury of private individuals. A nation may call out all its disposable population for the purposes of defence, but it will only call out a fraction of that disposable population for the purposes of aggression. Each of the combined powers contributed such a fraction; and the combined army, though one of the greatest in the annals of modern war, was a perfect bagatelle, even in point of number, to the myriads of defenders which France summoned up to oppose it.

But the case is different in the present struggle. In reference to us, the war is defensive, and France, with all Europe on its side, has threatened to become the attacking party. I venture to say, that they will never send over such an army as can measure, either in strength or in number, with half the disposable population of this country. All that we want is to make this population effective. Let them be converted to the purposes of defence. Let them be withdrawn from the manufacture of luxuries; and let the price of these luxuries, by the operation of a tax, be awarded to them with as great liberality as ever, for the new service of administering to the security of their employers.

It is with the utmost diffidence that I hazard an opinion on the detail of military operations. But it must strike the most inattentive observer, that France has established herself in the different countries around her,

not because these countries had arrived at the limit of their resources, but because, from the rapidity of the invader, they had not time to convert these resources to the purposes of defence; they had not time to collect their disposable population, and train it to the business of war. When the combined armies entered France, it is highly probable that they were much more than an overmatch for the military force which existed in that country at the time of its invasion, and could they have advanced into the interior, and brought the French troops to a general and decisive engagement, they might have established themselves at the very outset of the campaign. But they lingered at every town they met with on the frontiers, and gave France time to collect her resources, and muster up all the energy of her disposable population. I have no doubt, that if Austria and Prussia had had the same time for extending their military preparations, they would have been equally successful in repelling the invasion of Bonaparte. But his rapidity anticipated them. His way is to make a bold and decisive thrust into the interior of the country, to reach a blow at the very outset to the main strength of his enemy, to extinguish at once the military force already in existence, and, by a violent assumption of all the authorities of the state, to prevent the possibility of future supplies from those resources which are still unexhausted.

To apply this to the case of Britain. There is no doubt, that if one half of our disposable population were

trained to the business of war, it would be more than sufficient to measure strength with the largest invading army that shall ever be transported to our shores from the Continent of Europe. But then the expence startles us, or, in other words, the loss of those numerous luxuries which the disposable population would provide for us, if they were suffered to remain in the peaceful occupations of industry. There is only one other expedient in reserve, then: If you do not choose to have a regular force in readiness sufficient to conquer an invading army, have a regular force in readiness sufficient to keep that army at bay, and to maintain a series of lengthened operations. Lay your account with the business of repelling invasion being the business of months, and take care not to precipitate yourselves into a general engagement without a decided superiority. To do otherwise is to co-operate with Bonaparte in his favourite object of rapidity. What you want is time to mature your preparations, to take a full advantage of those immense resources which are still untouched, and to bring into action that immense disposable population which the discipline and experience of a short time may render fit for service. It was in this way that France prevailed against the combined armies. Her fortified towns kept the enemy in employment, and allowed her full time to bring into action all the natural strength and resources of the country. In a little time, she came down upon the invaders with armies raised on the spur of the em-

gency, and formed out of a numerous population that was almost wholly untutored in the business of war. Let our regular army do for Britain what the fortified towns on her frontier did for France. If not sufficient to engage in active hostility with the enemy, let it be at least sufficient to keep itself together; to take up the attention of the invader, and maintain any defensive position which it may choose to occupy. Let it be able to secure a sufficient time for the disposable population to bestir themselves, and to reach such a degree of discipline, as, with the advantage of their immense superiority in number, may be enough to overpower any force which the invader can oppose to them.

It is too prevailing a maxim in this country, that the question of invasion must be decided in a moment; that we must overpower the enemy on the beach; that the country must not be exposed to the miseries of a protracted warfare; that the whole of our military strength must be brought at once to bear upon the enemy; and that we must attempt to anticipate him by some great and decisive stroke at the very outset of his operations. This appears to me to be the most ruinous and mistaken policy. What? Shall we commit the independence of the empire to the issue of a single engagement? Shall we rest our security upon the uncertain fortunes of one army, when, with the advantage of a little time, we could summon up out of the disposable population a succession of armies which, with the discipline and pre-

paration of a few months, would be fit to repel invasion on a scale of greater magnitude than any that all Europe will ever put into execution. Military men talk with contempt of an armed population. Yes, if they are brought into action immediately, on the first day or first week of their having put on the armour and habiliments of a soldier. But France has given us on this subject an instructive example which we ought to profit by. It has taught us, that the natural strength of a country can, with the advantage of a little time, be opposed to the most formidable armies. It has taught us how soon an armed population can, with the aid of superior numbers, be made to cope with the more improved habit and discipline of veteran soldiers. It has taught us, that the policy of an invaded country is to protract the operations of war, and to evade every thing that is general or decisive. It has taught us, that every day we put off brings us nearer to victory, and that, after having armed ourselves with the whole force of our disposable population, we are sure to come down upon the invader with an energy that is irresistible.

It is this consideration which disposes me to give my unqualified testimony in favour of the volunteer system. The transition from a volunteer to a soldier fit for service, is certainly not so violent as the transition from a mere peasant to a soldier fit for service. I do not say, that a volunteer is fit for immediate service, but I say that he can be converted *much sooner* to the purposes of

war, than an unarmed individual taken out from the population of the country. It is certainly of mighty importance in the case of invasion, to have half a million of the population of the country in readiness, not to attack the enemy, but to prepare for attacking him. In consequence of such an institution, you save many weeks in the business of preparation. You shorten the interval between the landing of an enemy, and his final extermination. You contract the miseries of war within a shorter space. You alleviate the burden of the regular army, which has to sustain in the first instance the office of keeping the enemy in check. It must certainly accelerate the work of preparation to have volunteers in readiness, who are already furnished with armour, have been organised into bodies, and trained to a partial acquaintance with the discipline and evolutions of the field. And it would certainly have the effect of putting off the day of our deliverance, and prolonging the miseries of actual warfare, if, instead of these volunteers, you had to begin anew with the unarmed population of the country; had to describe every step of the transition between a peasant and an effective soldier; had to furnish them with arms; had to form them into regiments; and after the hurry of weeks, had only brought them to that point of discipline and preparation which the volunteers possess at the very moment of the enemy's landing. The volunteer system, instead of being reviled, ought to be extended. It is the only way perhaps, of combining the military strength with the con-

stitutional liberties of a country. That they are not fit for immediate service, is of no importance to the question. They are as fit, and perhaps fitter, than the infant armies of France, when the combined forces of Europe entered into that country; and these infant armies were the first rudiments of that military power, which has convulsed and overthrown all the politics of the continent.

There are two reasons why the policy above recommended has not always been pursued by the invaded country. The first is, that when the country is commercial, it is conceived that the derangement produced by its becoming the seat of war for any length of time, would of itself bring the country to its last extremities. The next reason is founded upon the delusive importance which almost every country annexes to its metropolis. If London fall, says an Englishman, the island must capitulate, and we must therefore prevent the occupation of London, even though we should risk a general engagement. The first reason, I trust, every reader will perceive to be a fallacious one. The interruption of commerce does not annihilate the maintenance of the disposable population. It only throws them loose from their present employments. It may throw them for a time into the service of government. It gives that direction to their employment, which is most expedient in the present circumstances. The whole amount of the mischief is the temporary loss of those luxuries which

they had been in the habit of preparing for our inland consumers. Government will give them the same maintenance as ever; for in the busy scenes of active war it will take that maintenance from its proprietors, without the formality of a legal imposition; and what is of still more consequence in this trying emergency of our fate, proprietors will offer this maintenance, to the public necessities, and submit with enthusiasm to the suspension of all their luxuries.

The delusive importance annexed to the metropolis may often tempt an invaded country to step beyond that defensive policy which is its true interest at the outset of its military operations. Had Austria abandoned Vienna at the very outset of its unfortunate contest, and Prussia abandoned Berlin, it would have given at this moment another aspect to the politics of Europe. What is a metropolis, in fact? It is a great collection of houses, occupied in general by a part of our disposable population, who supply the country around them with the productions of their industry. If an enemy comes there, he may find much wealth, that is, he may destroy or take possession of many valuable commodities. But I venture to say, that, with all his powers of mischief, he is not able to take from us more than what would supply the luxury of a few months, and which, if he had not taken away, would at the end of that time have been destroyed by the consumption of purchasers. The whole amount of the mischief then is,

the loss of a few months luxuries; and though the invader was allowed to take his full swing of depredation and violence in every part of the country; all that he could possibly destroy would bear no greater proportion to the whole value of the island, than the moveables of an estate do to the estate itself. I would not surrender a single military point for the sake of the metropolis. I would not abandon a single position. I would not risk a single uncertainty. I would survey the country with the eye of an officer. I would look upon the island as if it were a blank surface, and regulate my military operations in the same way as if no metropolis existed.

I cannot enter into further particulars, but should be sorry if what I have said in favour of the volunteer system, can be construed in a manner hostile to the establishment or extension of a great regular army. Such an army is indispensible to stand in the fore-ground, and protect our infant preparations; to maintain its positions till reinforcements pour in upon them from the disposable population of the country; and to keep itself in defensive security, till such preparations are completed as cannot fail to terminate in the overthrow of the invader.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

SINCE the above work was nearly completed, its author has had the benefit of Mr Spence's pamphlet, entitled, "Britain independent of commerce;" and he has also read with attention the remarks of the Edinburgh Reviewers upon that performance. It appears to him, that the difference between them lies chiefly in the different senses which they at times annex to the term *wealth*. The wealth of a country may be made to consist in the abundance of every thing desirable to its inhabitants; or, it may be made to consist in the quantity of labour which it is in the power of a country to maintain. A mere definition cannot affect truth. It is quite arbitrary, and is neither more nor less than an enunciation of the idea which you have chosen to annex to a particular term in language. I think that it is more convenient for the purposes of discussion, to define the wealth of a country

as consisting in the abundance of every thing desireable to man. But if an author has chosen to annex a different meaning to the term wealth, it appears to me that we are only entitled to impeach the propriety of his language; that the substantial merits of his discussion may remain unaffected; and that it is the part of candour to give him the most liberal allowance for the truth and the importance of his conclusions.

If we ask what is the wealth of a particular individual, the answer in common language would be, that it is equal, we shall suppose, to 500l. a-year. This proves, that the popular sense annexed to the term wealth is the yearly income estimated in money. But if we take the term wealth in the sense annexed to it by the first definition, our answer would be, not that he is worth 500l. a-year, but that he is worth what that 500l. a-year can purchase; that his wealth amounts to such a quantity of bread, beef, mutton, wine, tea, sugar, and every other article which the proprietor of this income chose to purchase with it. If we take the term wealth in the sense annexed to it by the second definition, we would say, that this proprietor has it in his power to maintain fifteen labourers, we shall suppose, in the office of administering to his enjoyments.

What is said of an individual, may be said of a country. According to the first definition, the wealth of a country may be made to consist in the abundance of its

enjoyments; or, it may, according to the second definition, be made to consist in the number of those labourers whom it can maintain in the office of administering to its enjoyments. It is evident, that these two definitions will lead you to very different results respecting the wealth of a country. A country may become poorer than before in the first sense of the term, and be as wealthy as before in the second sense of the term. It may be able to maintain as great a number of labourers as before; and yet not be able to command so great a quantity of enjoyment. Circumstances may occur to render the industry of those labourers less productive than formerly. It may take the industry of two labourers to yield you the same materials of luxury and convenience that the industry of one labourer was before able to accomplish. You become poorer, in the one sense, because you have fewer enjoyments. You are as wealthy as before, in the other sense, because you set the same quantity of industry in motion, and give the same support and encouragement to that industry.

Let us apply all this to the question that has been lately agitated,—Does a nation become poorer or not by the destruction of its foreign trade? It depends on the cause to which that destruction is to be attributed. If it is destroyed by a voluntary change in the demand of our inland consumers from articles of foreign to articles of home manufacture, the nation has not become poorer. We lose the foreign luxuries; but in their stead we have

got another set of luxuries more agreeable to the taste of purchasers. The nation has become richer, in as far as it has added to its enjoyments, by directing the industry of its people to the production of articles which are more agreeable to its taste. In as far again as the wealth of a nation is to be estimated by its power to maintain labour, this wealth is the same as before. The change which I am now insisting on, has neither affected the quantity of industry that is set in motion, nor the maintenance that is given to it.

If foreign trade is destroyed by some necessity, which it is beyond the power of the purchaser to controul, such as the violent suspension of all intercourse with foreign countries, the nation unquestionably becomes poorer according to the first definition. It loses all the enjoyments which it derived from the consumption of foreign articles; but it would be exaggerating the mischief, to say that the amount of the loss is to be estimated by the whole value of these enjoyments; that the amount of the mischief, for example, which accrues from the annihilation of all intercourse with Portugal, is to be estimated by summing up the value of all the wine, lemons, oranges, and other articles which are imported from that country. Doubtless we lose these articles, but we retain the power to maintain all that industry, which was employed in procuring them. We retain the power to give that industry another direction; and to maintain it in the office of working up for us another set, of en-

joyments. The loss of wealth to the country is not to be estimated by the whole value of the first set of enjoyments which it has been compelled to abandon; but by the difference between these enjoyments, in point of desirableness; and the new enjoyments which are now prepared for us by the workmen discarded from their former occupations.

But take the second definition of wealth, and the country may be as rich as ever. The same quantity of industry may be maintained, and as well maintained as before; only that industry is directed to another employment. I cannot get the foreign luxury, but I reserve the price that I would have given for it, and with this price I can give the same encouragement to industry as ever. I pay an export manufacturer for working up a particular article with which he purchases the luxury that I want from a foreign country. If this luxury is denied me, I still retain the power to pay this manufacturer as well as before for another service. I call at a village-tavern for a bottle of wine, which I mean to drink, and for which I pay five shillings, as a recompense for all the industry that has been expended on the purchase and conveyance of this wine. But I am told that they have given up business, and have got no wine to sell, and I am disappointed, for I have lost the enjoyment I was in quest of. I retain, however, the five shillings, and though compelled to spend them in a way less agreeable to me, perhaps, I can still lay them out in the pur-

chase of some other article, and give the same recompense to industry as ever. In the same manner, the nation calls upon Portugal for its usual supply of wine, but it finds that Portugal has shut up shop, or, what is the same thing, that there is a forcible termination of all intercourse between the two countries. This is a disappointment; but the whole amount of the disappointment is the loss of the wine. The nation retains the price. It retains the fund out of which all the industry exerted in the wine trade was maintained. All that it has to do is, to give a new direction to this industry, and to purchase out of this fund a new set of equivalents.'

Now, I maintain that it is not in the power of any definition to overthrow either the truth or the importance of this statement; that it is a statement calculated to relieve the public anxiety, and to brighten up the despondency of those who suffer themselves to brood over the lowering aspect of public affairs. What is it that alarms the nation? Not the loss of wine, nor the loss of tea, nor the loss of any foreign luxury whatever. It is the loss of trade which alarms them, and not the loss of what trade furnishes. It is not the loss of any luxury that alarms them, but the loss of some other imaginary advantage to which they conceive the existence of trade to be indispensible; the loss, in fact, of profit to our manufacturing capitalists, and of maintenance to our manufacturing labourers. What! is it of no importance to be told that the apprehension which distresses you is an

idle and unfounded illusion? that all the advantages for which you conceive trade to be valuable to the country, remain with you; that every labourer can be upheld in his former comfort, and every capitalist in his former splendour and distinction; and that the whole amount of the mischief is, the loss of what no man regards as a national object at all, the loss of those pleasurable feelings, which the use of a foreign luxury imparts to the purchaser.

But it may be said, that if there is no foreign luxury to purchase, that maintenance, which was formerly expended on the purchase of it, will be no longer brought forward. A landed proprietor, we shall suppose, spends one-fourth of his income on the purchase of certain luxuries, which are imported from abroad; or, in other words, he makes over one-fourth of the surplus produce of his estate to the maintenance of those manufacturers who work up a set of commodities which are exported for the payment of these luxuries. If these luxuries can be no longer procured, where is the security that this fourth part of the surplus produce shall ever be brought forward? Where is the security that our export-manufacturers shall continue to be maintained as before, since they can no longer yield to the proprietor of their maintenance the same return which they formerly yielded him? Will not the landed proprietor resign all anxiety about that part of his rent, which was formerly expended in the purchase of equivalents that he can no longer

obtain? Will not he gradually let down the cultivation of his farms, till his income be reduced by one-fourth of what it formerly was; or, in other words, till the surplus produce of his estate is diminished by one-fourth, and he has swept away one-fourth of the disposable population from the face of the country?

I answer, that no such effect can ever follow. Put the case to any proprietor in the country, and he shall tell you, that though he can no longer get wine from abroad, he is not on that account to remit all that part of his rent which formerly went to the purchase of wine. No, he will exact every farthing of his rent, and leave the tenant as great a stimulus to cultivation as ever. But how is he to spend his rent, if he cannot get articles to spend it on? Of this there is no danger. He will soon find substitutes. If there is comfort or grandeur in the attendance of three menial servants, he will conclude, that there is more comfort and more grandeur in the attendance of four. If there is splendour or convenience in a great house, and a showy equipage, he has nothing more to do than to add to the extent of his house, and the splendour of his equipage. If there is enjoyment in a well-stocked wardrobe, he can add to that enjoyment, by stocking it better. The industry of the country operating upon its own raw materials, will offer to the proprietors of maintenance a sufficient number of substitutes, and powerful enough inducements to expenditure. Though a brazen wall of a thousand cubits

height were raised round the island, it would not throw a single acre but of cultivation, nor subtract a single man from the population of the country.

But, at any rate, if there is something so alarming in the idea, that the stimulus is to be extinguished, and that the landed proprietors are to let down the cultivation of their farms; there is one expedient, which will operate as a most effectual remedy, and keep up the stimulus in all its wonted activity. Let government *kindly* interpose, and appropriate to itself, in the form of a tax, all that wealth that was formerly expended on the purchase of foreign luxuries. This will soon restore the stimulus. Landed proprietors will still exact their former rents; for, though they can no longer lay out a certain part of it on the purchase of foreign luxuries, they are obliged to surrender that part to the public necessities, and have no greater a remainder than before for the purchase of home manufactures. If the export manufacturers are in any danger of being left to starvation by the decay of the stimulus, this interposition of government will soon have the effect of reviving it. It will engross to itself all the maintenance that was formerly expended on the purchase of foreign commodities, and distribute it to our discarded manufacturers, with as great liberality as ever, in the new capacity of servants to the public.

But, before proceeding farther, it may be observed, that the destruction of foreign trade, from the forcible termination of all intercourse between two countries, is never

likely to happen. No political hostility between different countries has ever had the effect of annihilating their commercial intercourse. It only adds to the difficulties of carrying it on, and it therefore adds to the expence of the imported article. It unquestionably, therefore, makes the country poorer than before by the first definition. It can command fewer enjoyments. It must take the same quantity of export manufactures to purchase a smaller quantity of a foreign commodity, or, in other words, it must take the same quantity of labour to yield a smaller return of enjoyment. But this is the whole amount of the mischief, and to reduce the mischief to the mere loss of an enjoyment, is to advance a position, which, if admitted, will prove in the highest degree consolatory to the country; for I again repeat, that it is not the loss of an enjoyment which alarms it. It is alarmed, not at the loss of wine, but at the loss of the *wine trade*; not at the loss of luxury to consumers, but at the loss of employment to merchants and manufacturers. Now, the stoppage of all direct intercourse with Portugal does not annihilate the wine trade. It only makes the wine dearer. It has the effect of diminishing the supply, but it can never diminish the ability of the inland consumers, to give the same profit and maintenance as before to our export manufacturers. This ability will be discharged upon them with as great liberality as ever, and the advance of 20 or 30 per cent. upon the wine, so far from

destroying the stimulus to cultivation, will rather have the effect to sharpen and to improve it.

No one can deny, that profit acts an important part in adding to the stock of national wealth. Were it not for the intervention of capital, the labour of man would be much less productive; and were it not for the lure of profit, all capital would be withdrawn, and the mere hand-work of labourers would yield a much smaller quantity of enjoyment to the proprietors of their maintenance. In consequence of the application of capital, the country obtains a much larger supply of home manufactures, and it also obtains a much larger supply of all those foreign commodities which are purchased by our home manufactures. This is all very true, but it is in no way applicable to the point in question. It does not affect the truth of this statement, that this profit, whatever be its object, and whatever its advantages, is all derived from the ability of the purchaser; that the ability remains, though the particular trade in which the profit is gained be annihilated; that this ability can be transferred to another direction, and that all the benefit which the Reviewer very justly ascribes to profit and capital, can be transferred along with it. If an export manufacturer is compelled to abandon his employment, he has a refuge in home manufactures; the ability lies with the country to give him the same maintenance as before, and all the efficacy of his capital in rendering the industry of his labourers so productive in their former employment, still

remains to render it equally productive in the new employment to which they have betaken themselves. If a home manufacturer is compelled to abandon his employment, he may have a refuge in the extended branches of the government service. The ability lies with the country to withdraw his present income from him as a capitalist, and to give him the same income as a military officer. The present effect of his income, is to give additional power to the industry of his workmen, and to secure to his employers a far more copious supply of the articles of his manufacture. The future effect of his income will be to give great additional power to the fighting of his soldiers, and to yield to his employers a security far more perfect than they could otherwise have enjoyed. In the former case, his employers reap all the advantage which his capital as a stockholder confers upon the industry of his workmen. And in the latter case, they reap all the advantage which his authority as an officer confers upon the discipline of his soldiers. The question of transference from the one employment to the other, is to be decided entirely by the greatness of the advantage. A coachmaker, by the application of capital, can yield to his employers a hundred coaches instead of one; and a colonel, by the application of his authority, can render the operations of his regiment a hundred times more effective than it would infallibly be, if it moved without unity and without direction. If a colonel at the head of a regiment is of more advantage to the country than a coachmaker at

the head of a thousand workmen, the question is decided; and I contend, that there is not a single principle to oppose this transference of employment.

What is true of the coachmaker or home manufacturer, is true of the export manufacturer. He works up an article for exportation, and by the application of capital, he produces a much greater quantity of that article, and of consequence obtains a much greater quantity of some foreign commodity in return for it. With part of this commodity, or the price of it, he pays the wages of his workmen, and the remainder or the price of it he reserves to himself in the form of profit. The whole price, however, is to be traced to the ability of our inland consumers, and the question still remains on its original footing;—Can this ability be transferred to a more beneficial purpose? It is of no consequence to the question, what part of the imported commodity goes in the form of profit as a recompence to the capitalists, and what part of it goes in the form of wages as a recompence to the workmen. You compare the enjoyment which the country derives from the use of the whole commodity actually imported, with the enjoyment that it would derive from giving its ability to purchase that commodity another direction. If the consumer conceives it to be more for his advantage to surrender the whole price of his imported article in the form of a tax, he will not hesitate to do it; and from the hands of government, the discarded capitalist may receive the same income as before, and the discarded workmen may receive the same maintenance.

But the Reviewer puts the case of his receiving a present of wine and other luxuries from a foreign country. To help us to a correct estimate of the precise effects of this present, let us first suppose, that all the foreign wine made use of in the country comes to us through this channel; that it all comes through the medium of the Edinburgh Reviewers; that they receive the whole of it as a present, and that, after reserving part of it for their own use, they sell out the remainder to their countrymen in such quantities as to satisfy the existing demand. It is evident, that this would have the effect of annihilating the present mode of carrying on the wine trade. The country would get its usual supply through the medium of a present, and there would be no call on our export manufacturers to work up their articles as before, for the purchase and conveyance of wine from foreign countries. If they were foolish enough to persevere in this employment, they would find themselves immediately checked by the reduction in the price of wine. The market would be overstocked, and the consequent fall in the price of the imported article would soon make them feel the necessity of directing their industry to another channel. They are at present maintained by our inland consumers in the office of working up articles for the purchase of wine from a foreign country, or in the office of preparing an equivalent to proprietors abroad for the wine which is imported. But the present transfers this property from people abroad to people at home, and the equivalent, in-

stead of being exported for the payment of wine, remains in the country to be given to home proprietors. In other words, the export manufacturers, who wrought for the purchase of wine from foreign proprietors, are now made to work for the purchase of this wine from home proprietors. They receive their maintenance as before from the consumers of wine in the country; and the only difference is, that instead of sending out the produce of their industry as a return for this wine to proprietors abroad, they work in another channel, and the produce of their industry is given as a return for this wine to proprietors at home.

The advantage of this present, then, to the country, is equal to the whole difference, in point of value, between a foreign and a home trade. In the first exchange of commodities that was instituted for the purchase of wine, only one side of the exchange was the property of the country. But in the second exchange of commodities that is instituted for the purchase of wine, both sides of the exchange belong to the country. To purchase the wine, no value is exported; no price leaves the country; there is none of the produce of our industry sent abroad to administer to the gratification of foreigners. It is retained at home, and administers to the gratification of our own proprietors.

Now, it is not necessary to suppose, that the present received by the Edinburgh Reviewers is equal to the

whole quantity of wine made use of in the country. It may be equal to a half, a third, or any other fraction which you choose to condescend upon. But the above reasoning is perfectly applicable to their case as far as it goes. It produces a partial conversion from a foreign to a home trade. In proportion to the largeness of the supply, through this channel will the supply in the ordinary way be diminished or trenched upon. A certain population will be transferred from the employment of working for the purchase of wine from foreign proprietors, to the employment of working for the purchase of wine from proprietors at home.

But still, the value and advantage of this present, resolves itself in a great measure into the ability of our inland consumers. You sell the wine out and get other equivalents in its place, only because a demand for wine exists in the country, and because an ability to give a price for it exists in the country. What you consume yourselves, is a clear and independent advantage; but what you get for it in disposing of it to others, is all derived from an ability that is antecedent to the gift. It is in the power of inland consumers to withdraw this ability from the purchase of wine to the purchase of something else, and to annihilate the value of your present. You may solicit some other foreign article in place of wine, when you find that wine is no longer in request; but still it is in the power of inland consumers

to withdraw their wealth from the purchase of all foreign articles whatever; to withdraw their maintenance from those workmen whom they now pay for the office of administering to your luxury, and transfer them to any other purpose more suitable to the taste or the necessity of the times.

It is now the place to answer a question proposed by the Reviewer;—Where lies the difference between the proprietor of a sugar estate residing in London and drawing a rent; and the proprietor of a corn estate, residing in London, and drawing the same rent. As there may be some doubt whether sugar should be included among the necessaries of life, it may perhaps enable us to give a more distinct solution of the difficulty, if we substitute for the proprietor of a sugar estate, the proprietor of an estate that is wholly laid out in the culture and production of tulips. It is conceivable, that the price given for these tulips may afford to the proprietor of the one estate as great a revenue as the price given for grain affords to the proprietor of the other estate. Both of them are equally rich in the existing state of the demand, and the income of each may be considered as affording the same addition to the wealth of the country. But here lies the difference. The demand may be withdrawn from tulips, but it can never be withdrawn from grain. You may even conceive the tulip estate to be destroyed. The whole amount of the mischief is the loss of tulips. The price given for these tulips still remains in the country, and

may be expended as before in giving the same revenue to all concerned in the cultivation of tulips. This price can give the same reward and encouragement to industry as ever; and that industry can be directed to the preparation of some new equivalent for the tulips which have been lost. If the grain estate is destroyed, the whole amount of the mischief, it may be said, is the loss of the grain. But think of the extent of this mischief. Along with the loss of the grain, you lose the price or the equivalent which was formerly given for it. To lose grain, is to lose the maintenance of labour. It is to sweep away so many workmen from the face of the country. If you lose the maintenance of industry, you must also lose the produce of that industry. In the case of the tulip proprietor, tulips form one article of the exchange, and the revenue of the proprietor, along with the maintenance of his labourers, forms the other article of the exchange. You may destroy the first article, but the second article survives it. You may destroy the tulips, but the maintenance of all the workmen employed in the culture of tulips still exists, and the maintenance of all the workmen employed in administering to the luxury of the proprietor, still exists. This maintenance gives a new direction to the industry of all these workmen, and the whole amount of the change is the loss of tulips, and the substitution of some new equivalent in their place. In the case of the grain proprietor, maintenance forms the first article in the exchange, and the

in all its original animation and extent. The landed proprietor, therefore, must have an original importance ascribed to him, because, in addition to the necessaries of life for himself, he has generally a disposable income at command, and it is that kind of income which can controul the industry of labourers; for it consists chiefly of food, the principal ingredient in the maintenance of labourers. But he is not the only proprietor of disposable income, whose wealth consists chiefly in food. The farmer is entitled to a reward for the application of his capital, and it is a reward which must place him above the circumstances of a labourer. He, therefore, must have something more than the necessaries of life for himself; he must have a disposable income, and as this income consists chiefly of food, he must share with the landed proprietors in that command which they exert over the direction of industry.

But what is more than this: Food is not the only ingredient in the maintenance of labour. There are other ingredients which we have comprised under the general name of the second necessaries of human life, and the proprietors of those second necessaries must have also a share in that original importance which we have ascribed to the proprietors of food. Now, the landed proprietor comes in for his share, even of these second necessaries. The raw material, out of which they are formed, is in general the production of his estate. The capitalist,

whose stock is vested in the manufacture of second necessaries, stands nearly in the same relation to the landlord with the farmer, whose stock is vested in the manufacture of food. The farmer, by the application of his capital to the soil, obtains a right to share with the landlord, a property in that food which he raises out of the soil. The capitalist, by the application of his capital to the raw material, obtains a right to share with the landlord, a property in those second necessaries which he manufactures out of the raw material. These three classes form all the original proprietors of maintenance in the country. Part of this maintenance is necessarily expended on the labourers who belong to the two first classes of the population. But a large surplus remains, which is distributed among all these proprietors; which forms their disposable income, and which gives them an absolute controul over all the remaining population of the country.

We do not confine this controul, then, exclusively to our landed proprietors. They have by far the greatest share of it, but part of it must necessarily go to the farmer, whose capital aids the industry of the agricultural population; and part of it to the manufacturer whose capital aids the industry of the second division of the population of a country. Take in these three classes of society, and you take in the proprietors of every article which enters into the maintenance of labour. The disposable population lies therefore at their mercy. It is an instrument in

their hands. It must take its mould and its form from the impression of their will. The different members of the disposable population, including both labourers and capitalists, may be conceived as forming a fabric erected for the accommodation of our original proprietors. But it is a fabric, the materials of which these proprietors can pull down at their pleasure, and put together so as to form another fabric more accommodated to some new revolution in their taste, or some new necessity in their circumstances.

I conclude, with observing, that the above speculation does not bear the slightest resemblance, either in principle or in application, to the system of the French economists. If a proposal were made to withdraw a part of the disposable population from the manufacture of linen to the manufacture of hardware, nobody would conceive that this was an idea borrowed from the system of the economists. The object of that system, is to give as exclusive a preference as possible to agriculture, and the mere transference of labour from the manufacture of linen, to the manufacture of hardware, leaves the country at as great a distance from that object as before. In the same manner, if it be proposed to withdraw a part of the disposable population from the manufacture of luxuries to the public service of the country, how can such a proposal be interpreted into the revival of an old and exploded theory? You do not approximate in the slightest degree to the agricultural sys-

tem, by withdrawing the labourers of the country from the business of providing for our enjoyments to the business of providing for our security. You leave agriculture upon its old footing. Let the extension of agriculture be left to its own natural inducements, to the operation which a higher rent is calculated to have upon the mind of the landed proprietor. Leave agriculture to the care of those people who are more immediately interested in its prosperity; and, in the meantime, let such a direction be impressed upon the industry of our disposable population as is most calculated to meet the taste or the necessity of the times.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018